THE
CHINESE LANGUAGE

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THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

PREFACE

In the case of most great languages, a writer may draw on a very ample body of assured and accepted results, and a dogmatic treatment of most of the material is perfectly legitimate. A thoroughly scientific investigation of the Chinese language, its characteristics, history, affinities, etc., can hardly be said to date from before the present century; and as the present book is, in the belief of the writer, the first attempt to embrace the theme, it follows almost of necessity that he must himself assume responsibility for much of the theoretical framework into which the facts have been fitted. No authority has been quoted for facts which will be within the knowledge of anyone familiar with the language; nor for the few statements of a general nature which appear to have passed without question. But the author has been, for the reasons indicated, particularly careful to cite authorities for generalisations or theoretical constructions which may not yet have passed into the category of currently accepted truths, and still more so to offer full reasons in support of those constructions for which the responsibility is his own. It is to hope too much to expect that these will all remain as accepted doctrine in the sinological field; but, at least, in making them, the writer has not knowingly passed over any facts which tell against them; and the reader with the reasoning before him may form his own judgment on the matters in issue.

It is necessary at the outset to draw attention to a feature of the Chinese language which is rare among the great languages of the world, and which has entailed a certain difference of treatment, departing from that found appropriate for the other languages with which this series deals. This resides in the fact that from the time when Chinese succeeded in imposing itself throughout its present domain it has never been successful in achieving a spoken standard, even for that part of the population which might be described as educated. The comparative neglect of the spoken language until our own times is probably the counterpart of the high estimation of the literary medium, and its relatively early fixation in a form which developments in the spoken language soon left behind, so that the

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cultivation of the classical written style was almost as artificial as that of Latin in Europe in the centuries when it was the universal literary medium of culture. In a certain sense a standard of speech no doubt existed, but its range was a narrow one; the 'kuan-hua' of imperial times was the language of the capital and of the court, and, as such, seems to have varied from dynasty to dynasty as the court changed its place. It was necessarily adopted by all those who aspired to high offices of state, and as such acquired prestige among the local forms of speech, influencing them markedly, by direct diffusion in the parts of China adjacent to the capital city, and through the medium of pronouncing dictionaries in regions more remote. Roughly, it may be said that it has spread by this sort of passive propaganda until it has submerged and largely replaced the original local dialects over all China north of the Yangtsze river. But the provinces of the south and south-east, from Kiangsu to Kwangtung, have maintained intact their local forms of Chinese, sometimes called 'the dialects' *par excellence.*

To this day the Chinese dialects in those provinces remain in a position altogether different from that of the dialects of western European countries. They are the speech of all within their areas, whatever degree of education the speaker may have obtained, and are far from being confined to the uneducated, or to less careful and formal speech among educated persons. When a scholar in Canton or Amoy reads the Confucian classics or the T'ang poetry, he gives to it the pronunciation of his own district, or at most a conventional literary pronunciation no more easy of understanding to the native of Peiping; and if he expounds the old scriptures, or makes a speech in public, it is in the same language. These local dialects, moreover, depart from the speech of the north so extremely, in pronunciation, in idiom, and in vocabulary, that it is no exaggeration to assert that a stranger today wishing to converse with educated Chinese in the south would be better equipped to do so with a knowledge of English only than with a knowledge of no other language than that of Peiping.

It is true, as we shall see, that the Republican regime, recognising the need for a commonly understood spoken language for the operation of a modern democratic state, has made efforts, through government schools and otherwise, to foster the use of the Mandarin or kuan-hua, under the name of kuo-yu, or 'national language', through-

out China. It is probable that, if China remains united and independent, the effort will meet with success. But much time must elapse before the present dialects descend to the position of the patois in our country, and before one may assume with confidence that any Chinese with a pretension to education will understand and speak the standard speech of his country. The kuo-yu has not yet advanced beyond the stage of being one more subject taught in the schools of the south, and has as yet made no inroads into the conversation of those who learn it.

The dialects being thus, though threatened, still in full vigorous life, and being the only Chinese known to many foreign students who are, nevertheless, in some cases, no mean scholars of the language, it follows that to restrict the scope of this work to the 'standard' spoken dialect would have been to render it so much the less useful to a not inconsiderable number of Chinese speakers; as well as to prejudge the effects of the efforts of the Chinese government on behalf of the northern language.

Some apology may seem to be required also for the amount of space which I have deemed necessary to devote to the aboriginal dialects. The necessity flows directly from the fact that so much of the material is inaccessible even to professed scholars, still more to the layman. If it were desired in a book on a European language to describe the influence exercised by Latin in its development, simple reference would suffice, it being an easy matter for the student to obtain a number of authoritative works on the classical languages and so to verify or amplify the statements. In regard to the Miao and T'ai languages, which have played no unimportant role in the formation of modern Chinese, so that many of the changes which mark off the latter from the language of earlier epochs are hardly comprehensible without such reference, so little has been published, and that little in a form so ill adapted to the purpose of comparison with Chinese, that a fuller exposition seemed desirable. For similar, though less urgent, reasons, a brief sketch of Tibetan has been included, the affinity of that language to Chinese being unquestioned. The convergence of research by scholars working from the two bases of Tibetan and Chinese, offers the brightest hope of the reconstitution in outline of a 'Common Sinitic', which may stand in the same relation to those modern languages as does our inferred Indo-European

to the several groups of languages which dominate Europe and parts of the Middle East.

While, however, the dialects have been described in greater detail than is usual in a book of this nature, the balance has been redressed in favour of what is probably the standard language of the future by a more ample treatment of the phonological evolution of Pekingese, and by the use of that dialect in giving the modern pronunciation whenever examples are quoted. The printing of Chinese script in Europe is costly and this has done much to hinder the progress of oriental studies in this country. In order to keep the expenses of production of this book on a level with that of the rest of the series, it has been found necessary to place the Chinese characters, with a few exceptions, in an index at the end; a number placed between brackets immediately after the Pekingese rendering refers the reader to the Chinese written form in that index, and from that the reader unacquainted with Pekingese may also restore the pronunciation of his own dialect.

The Chinese language will undoubtedly be of inestimable importance in the study of comparative linguistics in the future, it being exceptional in very many respects. Apart from the language which is first shown in the Egyptian of pre-dynastic times and which terminated in the Coptic of the sixteenth century, and the language which began with Vedic Sanskrit and continues in the vernaculars of northern India today, it is the only language of which the evolution can be traced through so long a period as three thousand years. It shares with Arabic, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and, we may add, English, the distinction of serving as a culture language to others, and of assisting in their development by supplying them with their abstract and cultural vocabulary. It offers one of the few instances in which the language of a population which formed the substratum in its extension and which has profoundly affected its character, continues to exist, available for complete investigation. And, not least in importance, the immediate future, if the educational movement already initiated is continued, will give an almost unique opportunity of noting the process by which a regional dialect chosen to be the standard for the whole country will substitute itself for local forms of speech which for nearly two thousand years have developed in isolation, and are in some cases more widely divergent from it than

are two recognised languages elsewhere. Chinese may, therefore, well present a test case on several points which have been matters of controversy among linguists for generations, and may have a significance in the sphere of general linguistics as great as its intrinsic importance.

The comparative neglect of the languages of the Far East by western scholars has been attributed to the difficulty of the scripts employed, as well as to the fact that any work of investigation demands acquaintance with languages of several different families and types. This is undoubtedly true in part, and the hard work required to master a script like the Chinese is repellent enough. But we must place besides these reasons another, namely, the absence of direct relations to our European languages. Chinese and Tibetan have not, like Greek and Latin, contributed a large bulk of our vocabulary; nor have they been the vehicles of an earlier phase of our culture; they have not, like Hebrew, contained the sacred literature of the west. Their study has not, therefore, been endowed as has that of the Mediterranean and Semitic civilisations. Nevertheless, at least by the multitude of its speakers and their high cultural level in centuries when northern Europe was still barbarous, Chinese makes claim to practical importance; and the wide gap in structure between it and European languages lends it peculiar interest in the eyes of the comparative linguist and phonologist.

The neglect of the Far Eastern languages, if it had remained a merely negative phenomenon, would have been regrettable enough. But positive mischief also has resulted; for, as by old cartographers, gaps are apt to be filled with savage pictures; and where accurate knowledge fails we get statements (in works from which we have the right to expect better things) which are misleading when not definitely false. A well-known work of reference, for instance, says of the Hakkas: 'In disposition, appearance and customs they differ from the true Chinese. They speak a distinct dialect.' From this one might legitimately infer that the remainder of the Chinese people do not, as a rule, differ from province to province; and that the Hakka dialect, instead of being, as in fact it is, one of the closest to the ancient language, is one of the most aberrant. Professor Vacca (article 'Cina' in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*) is no better informed. But the acme of absurdity is reached in a recent work on the world's languages, where appears the statement that 'the Miao and Hakka

are rated as separate languages of the Sino-Tibetan group'. This is as much as if one should say that Spanish and Magyar are not true Romance languages, but form a separate branch of the Indo-European family. The latter statement would at once deprive its author of any title to speak as a competent Romance linguist; but it departs no more wildly from fact than does the former. Such serious studies as might have served as preventives of such extravagances in the field of Far Eastern linguistics are, besides being in the main highly technical, for the most part enshrined in specialist periodicals not readily accessible to the inquirer.

I am indebted to so many persons, Chinese and European, for help given me towards the preparation of this work that it would be invidious to name only some, and impossible to name all. But I owe so much to Professor W. J. Entwistle, the General Editor of the series, for his patient consideration and fruitful suggestions, that I must not close without recording my gratitude. My thanks are due also to Mr. Chan Kwok-wing of the Hong Kong Civil Service, to Miss Elizabeth Kah of Sydney, N.S.W., and to Mr. David Ting (Ting Tsu-pei) of the Chinese Consular Service, whose admirable handwriting here photographically reproduced, has much reduced the cost of production.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

A new edition of this work is amply justified by the time elapsed since the first appeared, and by the great amount of new work, much of it of the highest quality, which has been achieved in the interval. To name only a few of the many scholars whose work the author has found helpful would be unfair; the additions to the bibliographical notes will name those whose work has seemed relevant to the matters treated here. At the same time the author must record his indebtedness to the many workers whose notices of this work as well as other publications have suggested corrections and additions. Continued reading and research have induced some modification of the views which he formerly held, and these developments will appear in their proper places. In a work intended as an introduction to its subject the author is expected to confine himself to an exposition of the accepted views on the several points treated; but he may well be embarrassed when much disagreement exists among the foremost authorities. This is particularly the case in regard to the sounds of Chinese in its Proto-Chinese and Archaic periods, as may readily be seen in the work of scholars such as Karlgren, Serruys, Bodman, and Pulleyblank, to name only a few; and the author has compromised by describing the evolution of those sounds in accordance with his own researches, but in each instance gives his reasons for differing from Karlgren's scheme, which still commands great authority. It is probably superfluous for the author to emphasise his debt to the work of Karlgren, despite his departure in certain particulars from the latter's conclusions; Karlgren's services to sinology will always remain indispensable to the student.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSCRIPTION

The romanisation of Chinese is at present in confusion, and even if we were to confine our attention to the northern ('Mandarin') dialects, it is not easy to pick out a system in all respects suitable for our purposes. The Wade system has wide currency among foreign students of the standard dialect; but it is hardly phonetically precise enough for scientific use, and suffers from the fault of being inadaptable to the representation of the sounds of non-'Mandarin' dialects, let alone those of the aboriginal or contiguous language with which Chinese is to be compared. These faults it shares with the 'National Alphabet', still favoured by the government of Taiwan and by some scholars in this country and in U.S.A., which adds others of its own; both were devised to meet practical ends rather than linguistic.

The sounds of all dialects of Chinese and of the other languages quoted have therefore been put into the script of the International Phonetic Association, in as broad a transcription as seemed adequate. The reader already acquainted with one or other of the existing systems will experience little difficulty in recognising his own dialect under the new symbols, while the reader who has not studied the language with the aid of romanised letters will be spared the confusion of learning two or more discrepant systems for the several sound systems recorded. For the benefit, however, of those to whom the Wade transliteration is more familiar, a list is appended which shows the International Phonetic Association's symbols corresponding to each of Wade's letters or digraphs.

The values of the sound symbols used here are shown in the following table:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental and alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosives	*pb*		*td*	*ʈɖ*	*ʧɖ*	*c*	*kg*	*q*	*ʕ*
Nasals	*m*	*ɱ*	*n*			*ɲ*	*ŋ*		
Lateral non-fricative			*l*						
Rolled			*r*					*R*	
Fricative		*fv*	*θðszɹ*	*ʂɹ*	*ʃʒçz*	*çj*	*xɣ*		

Most of the above symbols will be readily identified by the descriptions in the margin and at the heads of the columns. The apostrophe after a plosive indicates aspiration; southern English normally aspirates unvoiced occlusives in initial position, and so also do most Germanic dialects, but not Dutch nor the English dialect of Aberdeenshire. The glottal stop occurs in several English dialects, as, e.g., in Glasgow, where it replaces intervocalic occlusives, as *bʌˤʌɾ* for 'butter'.

To meet certain typographical difficulties, it has been found necessary to print *ɿ* foɿ the retroflex *z* sound in place of the *z* with right-turned hook usual in the International Phonetic script. Similarly, *ɿ* is printed instead of the barred *i* as the symbol for the high mid vowel, that occurring, e.g., in the Scottish pronunciation of 'hill'.

In pronouncing palatal consonants a larger surface of the tongue is applied to the forward (hard) palate. In retroflex consonants the tongue is turned backwards and its under surface meets the palate. The sound *ʒ* is best known in English in the combined phoneme *ʤ* (the 'j' of 'jug'), but occurs also as the medial consonant of 'measure', etc.

A final *t, p* or *k* occurring in a Chinese dialect is pronounced applosively only, but, as the pronunciation is universal in that position, it has not been thought necessary to devise a special sign. The tongue is placed in position as if a normal consonant were to follow, but is withdrawn silently without explosion.

A circle under a consonant symbol means that it is to be pronounced without voice; thus *ŋ̥* is the sound of *nh* in Welsh.

The Vowels: the tongue position of the vowels is indicated in the following diagram, the relative position in which the symbols are written indicating the point of articulation or constriction of the passage between the tongue and the roof of the mouth:

iy				ɪ	*ɯ*	*u*	Close
	eø			ɣ		*o*	Half-close
		ɛœ					
			œ	ʌ		ɔ	Half-open
			a	*a*		*ɒ*	Open

The tilde (~) indicates nasality which, when it occurs in Chinese dialects, is slightly less complete than in French.

SYSTEM OF TRANSCRIPTION

The Tones: the signs used to indicate the tones are the very simple ones advocated by the late Sir George Grierson (*On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages*, 1920), whereby lines drawn in various positions and at various angles before a syllable indicate the pitch and inflection of that syllable by their positions and directions. Thus, a horizontal line placed on the level of the mid-point of the letters shows that syllable to be pronounced in the natural tone of the speaking voice and without either rising or falling intonation; a line slanting downwards from a higher position, as 'a, shows that the syllable starts at a higher pitch and drops to the level of the ordinary speaking voice; a line descending and afterwards rising means that the tone does likewise. It is unnecessary to deal with the remaining tones in detail.

TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WADE'S ALPHABET AND THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Initial sounds:

Wade:	p	p'	m	f		I.P.S.	p	p'	m	f
	t	t'	n	l			t	t'	n	l
	k	k'		h			k	k'		x
	{ts	ts'	s				ts	ts'	s	s
	{tz	tz'	ss	sz}						
	ch	ch'	sh	j			tṣ	tṣ'	ṣ	ɹ
	ch	ch'		hs			tɕ	tɕ'		ɕ

Final sounds:

Wade:	-ŭ, -ih	-a	-o	-ê	-ai	-ei	-ao	-ou
I.P.S.	z	a	ɔ	ɤə	ai	ei	aʊ	ou

Wade:	-an	-ên	-ang	-êng	-i	-ia	-ieh	-iao	-iu
I.P.S.	an	ən	aŋ	ʌŋ	i	ia	iɛ	iaʊ	iou

Wade:	-ien	-in	-iang	-ing	-u	-ua	-uo	-uai	-uei, -ui
I.P.S.	iɛn	in	iaŋ	iŋ	u	ua	uɔ	uai	uei

Wade:	-uan	-un	-uang	-ung	-ü	-üeh	-üan	-ün	-iung
I.P.S.	uan	un	uaŋ	uŋ	y	yɛ	yan	yn	yuŋ

SYSTEM OF TRANSCRIPTION

The following list shows the I.P. equivalents of Karlgren's symbols for Ancient Chinese in cases where they are not identical:

Karlgren	I.P.S.		Karlgren	I.P.S.
ε	æ		ṅ	ɲ
ä	ε		ng	ŋ
â	a		ś	ʃ
ậ	ɔ		ź	ʒ
ï	ɪ		t'	ţ
ɒ	ʌ		d'	ḑ
			ṣ	ʂ

Abbreviations

A. Amoy Dialect.
ACh. Ancient Chinese.
Ann. Annamese (Vietnamian).
ArCh. Archaic Chinese.
C. Cantonese.
F. Fuchow Dialect.
GS. *Grammata Serica*
H. Hakka dialect.
Hai. Hainanese.
HehM. Heh-Miao ('Black Miao').

HwaM. Hwa-Miao ('Flowery Miao').
M. Miao.
NCh. Northern Chinese ('Mandarin').
P., Pek. Pekingese dialect.
Su. Suchow dialect.
Sw. Swatow dialect.
Tib. Tibetan.
Ting. Tingchow dialect.

> 'evolves into'.
< 'derives from'.

The sign * before a form indicates that the form is a hypothetical construction required to account for known existing forms, but not based on direct observation.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The greatness of a language does not flow from the numbers of its speakers but rather from the degree of perfection which has been given it in fitting it as an instrument of higher literature and as a vehicle of cultured thought. The greatness of a language is thus a reflection of the height of civilisation of its speakers. Nevertheless, the magnitude of its extension is a fair measure of its practical and even of its cultural importance; and in this respect Chinese, if we include under that name all the existing dialectal forms, is probably the most widely extended form of speech that the world has known. Even if we restrict the name of Chinese to the language spoken in those regions north of the Yangtsze river where dialectal differences are at present not sufficiently great to oppose much obstacle to mutual understanding; that is to say, if we subtract from the conservative estimate of three hundred millions as the population of China proper an equally conservative estimate of one hundred millions for the coastal provinces from Kiangsu to Kwangtung, we are left with a figure which can hardly be challenged by any language save English. A more recent estimate, based on a census in 1957, gives for China Proper (with some modification of boundaries) a total of some 563 millions, inclusive of the coastal provinces. We have left out of account the figures for Chinese speakers in other parts of the Republic, and we have not included the estimate of some six millions for Chinese abroad, particularly in Siam, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, North and South America, and the West Indies: the reason being that the figure, high as it is, is too small to affect our general estimate of the numbers of Chinese speakers, which has no pretensions to accuracy; and because the overwhelming majority of Chinese abroad—there is hardly a tropical region, and few temperate regions, where there is not to be found some Chinese colony—derive from the parts of China where Chinese, in the narrower sense, is not spoken. Moreover, the Chinese are an eminently assimilable race, and lose their language rapidly in the second generation except when they settle in large compact groups; many

in Malaya, on the one hand, in North America and Australia on the other, speak no language but Malay or English.

It might be thought that the common literary language at least might serve to bind together the various dialects; and this would be the case but for the high percentage of illiteracy, for ten per cent of the population is one of the more favourable estimates of the proportion able to read and write their own language. The figure is certainly lower among Chinese resident abroad; largely of coolie stock,
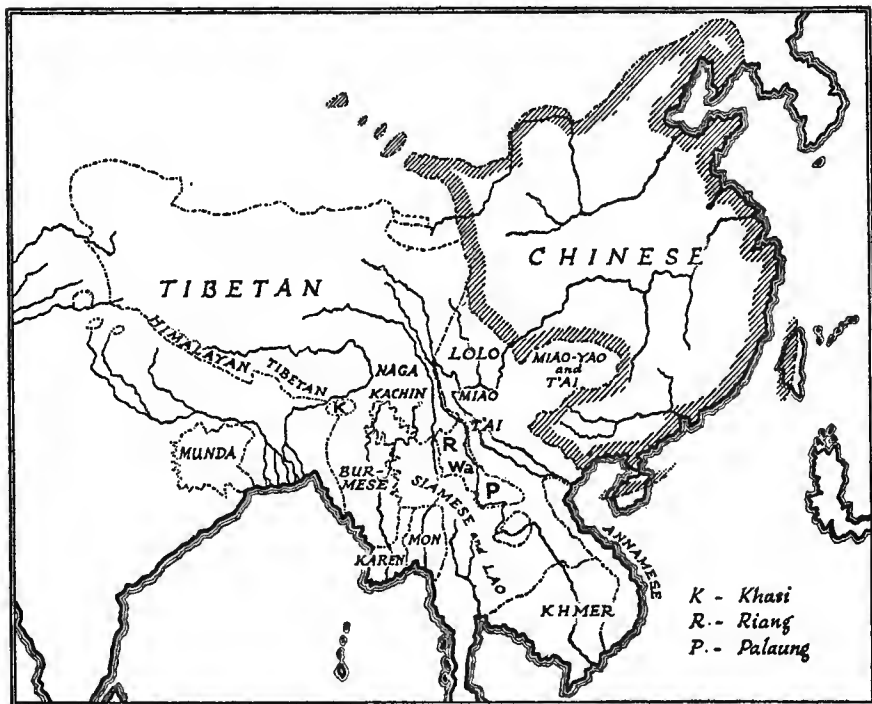
THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF CHINESE IN RELATION
TO OTHER FAR-EASTERN LANGUAGES

if the succeeding generation is more educated than its parents, it finds it easier to attain literacy in English or Spanish than in their own language and script.

What makes the question of mere numbers the less important, however, is the fact that Chinese, at the time when it made good its claim to rank among the great languages of the world, as carrying one

of the finest literatures ever produced, that is to say, during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 616–907), when also was fixed the literary style which has remained the model till our own day, was the language of a much smaller community than it is today. The contemporary estimates of China's population in the T'ang dynasty inspire, perhaps, even less confidence than do those of modern times; it is hard to believe that a population of 41½ millions rose in sixteen years to 144 millions, to fall again in twenty-two years to 17 millions, if the census covered the same area each time; but the figures show, at least, that the language which attained its greatest heights then was that of a very much smaller people than its present speakers.

Chinese is reckoned as an independent member of the Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Chinese, or Sinitic family of languages. The latter term has been sometimes used to designate a larger unity, in which the Mon-Khmer languages (Mon, Khmer, Palaung, Stieng, Khasi, and a number of lesser tongues spoken in scattered areas of Assam, Burma, and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula) are included. This larger family appears to the present writer to be a premature construction; and in this work the word 'Sinitic' will be used to name the family of languages which is divided into the following groups:

(i) Chinese;

(ii) Tibeto-Burman, consisting of Tibetan, Burmese, a number of dialects spoken along the central and eastern Himalayas and in the plains and hills to the south, and of Lolo (Nesu), with Hsi-hsia (now extinct) and other aberrant dialects of south-western China and the Tibetan borderland. The connecting links between Tibetan and Burmese have been roughly divided into Himalayan, Assam, Naga, Bodo, Kachin, Kuki-Chin, and Burma groups;

(iii) The T'ai languages, discussed in more detail later (Chapter V), believed by some to be of this family;

(iv) The Karen dialects of Lower Burma, placed provisionally in this family although their affinities have not been clearly proved. They are certainly much indebted in the matter of vocabulary to Burmese, but some of the more archaic varieties, such as Red Karen, have a high percentage of the commonest words apparently related to the vocabulary of Mon-Khmer, and it may not improbably be shown to be a Mon language imperfectly assimilated to Tibeto-Burman, rather than a basically Sinitic tongue. The numerals are

purely Burman; the pronouns resemble rather the Mon-Khmer forms. There is little except its phonological character to support a closer connection of Karen with Chinese alleged by Schmidt among others; so many various factors may lead to convergence in formal respects that they are the weakest proof of common origin. Haudricourt and Luce have shown that the Karen tonal system follows in detail that of Chinese, T'ai, and Miao, and is quite unlike that of Burmese.

A remarkable outlier of the Sinitic family, and more specifically of the Tibeto-Burman group, is, in the view of scholars who have investigated them, (Trombetti, Donner, and others) a group of dialects known as Yenisei-Ostiak and Kottish. They are now spoken by a few villagers far in the north of Siberia, on the river Yenisei, northwards of Yeniseisk. They appear once to have had a much wider extension southwards, and to have been driven north by the diffusion of speakers of Turkish and Altaic languages.

That an outlying member of the family should be found so widely separated from its relatives may appear less strange if we note that the general ethnic movement of speakers of the Sinitic languages has been towards the south. The immigration of T'ai and Tibeto-Burman speakers into the Indo-Chinese peninsula has occurred, so far as we know, entirely within historic times; so also the spread of Chinese speakers from the middle Yellow River area towards the southern and eastern coasts, an extension even now in progress. Indications in Greek geographers are at one with Tibetan traditions in placing an earlier centre of that people considerably further north than the Tibet of modern times, in the valley of the upper Yangtsze. There are at least as good grounds for the hypothesis that the centre of radiation of the Sinitic languages was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Koko-Nor, on the confines of China proper, Mongolia, and Tibet, as for any of the attempts to localise the cradle of the Indo-European languages. From such a point one branch moved eastwards to produce the Chinese language, another spreading southwards and westwards to give rise to the present Tibeto-Burman sub-family. The origin of this movement is perhaps to be sought in one of the periodical desiccations to which the interior parts of Asia have been subject in historical and pre-historical times.

While it is plain that the Tibeto-Burman sub-family constitutes a

fairly closely related group, inasmuch as it has been possible to observe in an approximate way their phonetic correspondences, the kinship of the four sub-families of Sinitic among themselves is vague, though it has seldom been questioned.

A rough but useful picture of the geographical relations of these four groups is given if we imagine a huge circle described, having the capital of Yunnan province (Kunming, formerly Yunnan-fu) as its centre, and a radius of some fifteen hundred miles. This will reach to the north-east a little beyond Peking, north-westwards almost to the furthest bounds of Tibet, southwards just into Malaya. Imagine, too, this circle divided into three equal segments, one radius running due north from Kunming: between this and the south-eastern radius is the domain of Chinese; the north-western segment is occupied by Tibetan, Burmese, Lolo and their close relatives; while the southern segment includes the area where T'ai tongues are spoken, much interspersed with Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian tongues; its extreme westerly extension may represent the home of the Karen speakers. It is hardly necessary to say that this picture is only an approximation; the Chinese segment encroaches considerably on the Mongol area in its northern limits, and on the other hand fails to include the recent extension of the language into southern Manchuria. Similarly, the Tibetan segment should be shortened on its southern border, as the Tibetan dialects do not descend from the Himalayas into the plain of the Ganges. Moreover, not only is the T'ai segment anything but completely occupied by T'ai speakers, who are generally the dominant but not the most numerous part of its population, but both the other segments include considerable islands of alien speakers —Miaos (Mon-Khmer) and T'ai in the Chinese, Miaos, Khasis, and Chinese in the Tibetan.

The view that Chinese is in some way related to Tibetan and Burmese on the one hand, to the T'ai languages on the other, has been widely held, and so far as relationship with the Tibeto-Burman languages is concerned, it remains well-founded, although we are not able to say in more precise historical terms just what the relationship is. Genetic relationship with T'ai is much more doubtful, despite the obvious Chinese affinity of much T'ai vocabulary, and especially the practical identity of the T'ai and early Chinese tonal systems; reciprocal loans account for the resemblances in vocabulary, and a T'ai

(or Miao) substratum among Chinese speakers would amply explain their adoption of a tonal system which cannot be traced in those languages, the Tibeto-Burman, with which Chinese seems to share its basic vocabulary. In regard to word order, Chinese, Tibeto-Burman, and T'ai differ as widely as may be.

Fortunately, all allowances made for accidental resemblances and for possible borrowings of words, we seem to have sufficient residue on which to found some opinion of the connection between these groups. Meillet put forward the acute observation that what constitutes the identity of a language throughout its history, while it alters in almost every possible respect, is the continued intention of its speakers to speak that language. This will not be taken to imply, confining ourselves for the moment to the question of the word-stock, that each generation will not make slight additions or subtractions, the cumulative results of which over many centuries may well be the total obliteration of what may be the last traceable link in the chain of origin from a common stock. Affective words—words, that is, indicating a subjective rather than objective aspect of the thing denoted—are specially liable to change as constant use blunts their expressiveness; names of parts of the body are often of vague application (e.g., Latin *coxa* 'thigh': Gaelic *cos* 'foot'); numerals become specially prominent as soon as peoples of different speech meet in trade, and are therefore often borrowed. (This last case is rare in the Indo-European family, but common elsewhere; Swahili has borrowed from Arabic, Khmer uses Siamese words from 'six' onwards; and several of the dialects of the Himalayas seem to have taken the nouns of number from an Aryan dialect). But, when all this has been said, there remains a number of ideas for which it is hard to imagine that any people would introduce an alien word while still affecting to speak their ancestral language. This residual vocabulary which may be usefully compared in two languages consists of the words for the simplest notions of common experience, with exclusion, however, of those of affective colour.

To show, therefore, just how closely Chinese may be taken as related to other languages assigned to the same family, we may draw up a short list. It must not be thought, however, that the Chinese word necessarily provides the exact phonetic equivalent of the Tibetan word quoted, but merely that the Chinese word contains or

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represents some element which similarly forms the kernel of the Tibetan word with which it is equated. The cases are analogous to that of the correspondence between the German *auge* and Latin *oculus*; we have no warrant for the idea that German ever had in this word any part corresponding to the formative suffix *-ol-* of the Latin; the etymological connection lies in their referability to a common 'root' *$*ok^w$-.

ACh.	Tib.		ACh.	Tib.	
'*k'jwen,*	*k'ji,*	'dog'.	*_lai,*	*sleb,*	'come'.
_ŋjen,	*dŋul,*	'silver'.	*ˌnja,*	*nad,*	'illness'.
_ɲʒet,	*nji,*	'day'.	*kuan,*	*goms-pa,*	'accustom'.
ˌŋa	*ŋa,*	'I'.	*ŋuan,*	*ŋgoms-pa,*	'accustom'.
'*si,*	*ʃi,*	'die'.	*k'au,*	*rkub<*krub,*	'rump'.
ˌɲʒi,	*rna,*	'ear'.	*xjwɒn,*	*khram-pa,*	'lying'.
_ŋjwo,	*nja,*	'fish'.	*xjɒn,*	*khrims,*	'usage, law'.
'*ts'au,*	*rtswa,*	'grass'.	*k'ji,*	*rgjab-pa,*	'to throw'.
'*ʃwi*	*tʃ'u,*	'water'.	*ɣuan, xjwɒn,*	*grum-pa,*	'badger'.

The phonetic resemblance between the forms here equated is not immediately impressive; and it is true that clear and obvious resemblances in form will help the Chinese student little to acquire a vocabulary in Tibetan. But the restoration of older forms on both the Tibetan and Chinese sides, as will be explained in Chapters V and VI, will do much to bridge the gap and render the equations more plausible. For the present it must suffice to note that ArCh. *-n* and *-ŋ* often rest on an older *-m*, and *-k, -g, -t, -d* on older *-p, -b*; while in the oldest Tibetan transmitted there had already taken place in certain circumstances a metathesis of the original initial consonantal group, so that, e.g., *rg-* often appears for what was once *$*gr$*. The list might be extended if we were to include the numerals, still more if we allowed for semantic changes on either side. Again, we might have admitted words such as Tib. *dʒa*, 'tea', (1),[1] ACh. *_ɟ'a*; Tib. *dug*, 'poison', (2), ACh. *_d'uok*; Tib. *dʒag*, 'robbery', (3), ACh. *_dz'ək*. But we should not then feel sure that we were not dealing with Chinese words borrowed into Tibetan, or vice versa; too close a likeness is even more suspicious than too distant a one. The truth is, as Karlgren has frequently insisted, that it is faulty method to compare, in such

[1] The bracketed numbers refer to the Character Index, pp. 347–361.

cases, an isolated word in each of the languages; rather must the comparison begin with related groups of words in one and in the other language, words which, linked in both form and meaning, involve a buried phonetic element common to their group, beside which may be placed a similarly constituted group in the other language. It is in this way that Wolfenden has made a beginning of scientific comparison, from which may ensue in due course the induction of a 'Common Sinitic' stage of the languages. But it will not show that Tibetan is very close to Chinese; we must rather think of the parent language as having bifurcated as completely as did Indo-European in producing Celtic and Slavonic; few of the Semitic languages have as little in common.

In the same way it is easy to draw up a list of apparently related words in Chinese and T'ai; the closeness in form here is often in strange contrast with the fewness of such parallels, and the method is further subject to risks arising from the fact that the two languages have lived in historical times, and in the case of some T'ai languages still live, in close proximity, so that extensive borrowing by T'ai from Chinese has taken place. Whereas within the Tibeto-Burman subfamily considerable advances have taken place—witness Wolfenden's interpretation of the Tibetan prefixes and of their homologues in Kachin, etc., in his *Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology* (1929)—and much has been achieved in the reconstitution of the earlier stages of Chinese, in the investigation of the relationship of Chinese and T'ai there is little progress to record; but mention must be made of Maspero's comparative studies of the T'ai dialects, and of Wulff's important investigations of the history of the tonal systems and of T'ai word formation. Wulff goes on to equate T'ai tones with those of Ancient Chinese, but at the same time gives warning of the difficulties attending any attempt to identify individual words in the two languages; particularly is it difficult in the case of the vowels, as there are indications that both Chinese and T'ai had in their earlier stages a system of vowel gradation, the same word existing in several forms with, we may presume, some semantic distinction, though the significance of the vowel changes still awaits investigation. A determination of the precise relationship of Chinese to T'ai had necessarily to wait for the establishment of the oldest attainable forms of the languages to be compared. We must, therefore, suspend judgment on the

alleged more intimate relationship between these two groups of languages, while noting that the facts so far brought to light tend on the whole in favour of Wulff's views.

All the languages which we group under the term Sinitic have, apart from vocabulary, certain formal elements in common, namely, monosyllabism, a tendency towards the change of voiced stops into voiceless, a tendency to develop significant tonality, and to the use of a part of speech which has no precise analogue in Indo-European languages and which is known as the 'classifier' or 'numeral adjunct' or 'numerative'. To each of these characteristic features, which are exhibited in varying degrees by almost all the modern forms of these languages, but with special clarity in Chinese, we must devote a few paragraphs of explanation.

We have used the word 'monosyllabic' as if its meaning were so perfectly obvious as to demand no explanation; but there is probably no part of the description of the Chinese language on which less agreement has been reached, and that is largely on account of the vagueness of the term. To say that a monosyllabic language is one in which each word consists of one syllable and no more appears to be a perfectly clear statement; and so it would be, if only we knew just what we mean by a word. It is not always easy to mark off words from one another by reference to the stress groups; and a comparison of one language with another reveals numberless cases in which syllables kept separate in one are in the other written together and there recognised as forming one word; though here it might be said that the writing of these syllables together or apart is of no more significance as regards the modern state of the language than any other feature in an antiquated spelling system. In the English word 'cupboard' the pronunciation has changed so that its two constituents are hardly recognisable in speech; but, if they had remained recognisable, would it have been legitimate to consider it as a phrase compounded of two words in view of the complete change in meaning? It is certain that no idea of crockery or of boards (or tables) is as a rule present in the mind when we use the word 'cupboard'. Chinese has many such examples to offer; e.g., (4), P. /ny, in the phrase (5), P. /tsɪ/ny, 'sons and daughters', means 'daughter', and so generally when used alone; but (6), P. /ny 'ʌn, is the only colloquial expression for 'woman' in most dialects; and this colouring of the meaning

of a syllable by its context is one of the characteristics of the Chinese colloquials, and the principal means by which they express all the ideas of everyday life with so small a number of basically distinct syllables. The two syllables of (7), P. *'p'əŋ/ju*, 'friend', are never parted in the modern language; but in the oldest writings they seem sometimes each to have its own force, and are capable of separate existence and of entry into other formations; to the speaker of a modern vernacular however, they are meaningless when separated.

Phonetic abrasion and the consequent falling together in sound of a number of syllables once distinct may have been the occasion of the large number of compound words in the modern dialects, though it is unfortunate that it has sometimes been described as if it were a conscious process on the part of the speakers, a direct effort to compensate for the phonetic poverty. The word (8), P. */lau/xu*, literally 'old tiger', has so completely lost all feeling for the former syllable that the */lau*, 'old', is not detached even when an adjective meaning 'young' is added; and we are not quite certain that this syllable was in origin the ordinary word 'old' rather than some unknown word which happened to have the same sound and which thus here usurped the character for 'old'. There is little doubt but that, if Chinese were known in its modern state only and as an unwritten language, the word would have been taken as polysyllabic; only our knowledge of the ancient language, on which agreement in this respect is easier, compounds being rare or absent, assures us that such words arose out of monosyllables. There is probably a point in the history of such a word when it ceases to be a phrase compounded of two monosyllables and becomes a polysyllabic whole; but such a point must naturally remain theoretical and undefinable. The question, therefore, whether modern Chinese is still a monosyllabic language (for there is less disagreement regarding the ancient language) is probably insoluble in the terms in which it is propounded; and, as each compound has its own independent history, it must be a question of degree. We cannot go further than to say that Chinese, as compared with languages of other families, has a marked tendency to monosyllabic structure.

Every language possesses tones, in the sense that nowhere is it entirely without consequence with what inflection of the voice a phrase or a single word is uttered. The difference in intonation is

probably the first thing to strike the speaker of a language where he goes into a part of the country where a dialectal form is spoken. It seems to be established, however, that Common Indo-European used tones, in another way, that is, to distinguish in speech words of quite separate meaning which, apart from the tone, would be complete homophones: the feature is, of course, well-known to the Greek and Sanskrit student, and survives to this day in one Lithuanian dialect, with traces in Scandinavian and in a variety of Yugoslav. In Chinese and in most of the languages of its type, the tone of a word is of the greatest importance, and it is by no means an overstatement to say that its correct enunciation is as essential as the correct rendering of the vowels and consonants. It is an easy matter to bring forth a list of single syllables or compounds the meaning of which can be determined and distinguished from that of other syllables or compounds solely by the pitch or inflection of the voice. Thus, in Pekingese, we have the words for 'soap' and 'chair', for 'four' and 'death', for 'fork' and for 'tea'; each of the pairs is identical so far as vowels and consonants are concerned, being respectively i, sz, and $t\xi'a$; and only by the tone can the hearer know that one and not the other (or one of many others) is intended.

None of the names by which the classifier is known is entirely satisfactory, but the word by which we have called it is probably the most widely established in English, and will serve our purpose as well as any other. The classifier, then, is a word used with a noun, and, in certain cases, in place of the noun, when the noun is joined with a numeral adjective or a demonstrative. Its function is, in the modern languages, analogous to that of grammatical gender in Indo-European languages, or to the class-prefixes in Bantu languages, serving to distinguish words into broad categories of somewhat similar meanings. The classifiers are numerous, varying with the noun itself, and in some cases even with different senses of the noun. Dyer Ball lists 85 for Cantonese, but of this large number the majority are in reality quantitative nouns (like *stück* in the German *ein stück brot*, which is preferable to an English example, as containing no hint of a genitive). Many of the others in Dyer Ball's list are semi-literary refinements, not more than 21 being in the strict sense classifiers, which must be known to every speaker of the language.

To exemplify their use, it is enough to say that, except in the case

of a few words denoting quantity or measurement, no modern variety of Chinese can place a numeral or demonstrative adjective directly before its noun; the two parts are invariably joined by a classifier, a word which, like the tone, helps to distinguish between homophones. Thus Chinese says, not 'one rope', but 'one length (of) rope'; not 'one cart' but 'one frame (of) cart'; not 'this book', but 'this trunk (of) book' (cf. Latin *codex*). The classifier like the English 'one', helps to avoid the repetition of the noun in such a case as when, in answer to the question, 'which cart?' (i.e., 'which frame cart?'), the Chinese will say: 'this frame'; the word for 'this' cannot be used alone as a pronoun, but must always be accompanied by the classifier appropriate to the object denoted.

These three characteristics of the Sinitic languages, as well as the fourth (the devoicing of occlusives, which it is unnecessary to describe further at this stage) do not appear equally in all branches of the family or in all periods of one branch; nor are they confined to Sinitic, even among the languages of south-eastern Asia. The Mon-Khmer languages are as fully monosyllabic as the Sinitic, and several of them have devoiced their voiced consonants—at least some of them; they also use the classifiers; but, with the exception of the Miao-Yao group, they are without tones in the sense in which the word is used in connection with Chinese. Modern Tibetan has tones in some dialects, but it is doubtful whether the classical language of the seventh century possessed them: it is less fully monosyllabic than Ancient Chinese, and has no classifiers; though Simon has shown that Classical Tibetan offers examples of particles etymologically connected with the numeral for 'one' which occasionally come near to the Chinese and T'ai classifier in function. The classifier, in fact, appears most clearly developed in those branches of the Sinitic family which have had closest contact with Mon-Khmer forms of speech, and its use appears to grow up and become general as the contact becomes more intimate. The T'ai languages and the Miao group of Mon-Khmer are fully toned, and at least as monosyllabic as modern Chinese, and moreover show the same system of classifiers even more fully developed than does the latter.

Moreover, in the history of Chinese which follows, we shall see a growth of some of these features and a decay of others. Classifiers are lacking in the oldest texts, and there, too, monosyllabism is more

obvious than in the spoken language of modern times. We know that Ancient Chinese of the sixth century of our era had a system of six tones (excluding the upper and lower 'ju-heng', or entering tone, of Chinese grammarians) and we may reasonably conjecture, though we cannot demonstrate, the existence of the same tones in the earlier periods. G. Kennedy's investigations have revealed at least a tendency to recognition of tones in the rime-words of the *Shi-King*; see further on this question Ch. VI. The later history of these tones in the north of China, and particularly in the dialect which has become the modern standard, is one of progressive decay and simplification, while certain dialects have maintained them intact, if not unaltered, and have even added to them.

Vendryes said in *Le Langage*: 'In the absence of any precise data on the conditions of historical development the conclusions to be drawn from the comparative method so far as concerns the determination of the kinship of languages are greatly diminished. One is then reduced to determining kinship by the mutual resemblances presented by the languages. It is a dangerous method . . . . There are languages without grammar, whose sole morphology consists in immaterial processes of word order . . . The processes of word order, besides being less varied than phonetic morphemes, have also less evidential value . . . At this extreme point it is impossible to state with precision the dialectal relationship.'

I do not share to the full the pessimism of the great linguist; if the case were really as he states it, the field of Sinitic linguistics would indeed be a barren one. His words, however, do constitute a valuable caution against the excesses of certain recent writers on general linguistics in tracing affinity between languages geographically remote on the basis of a resemblance in vocabulary and little else. It is well to be sceptical in such matters, particularly so when denuded phonetic forms on one side or on both accord only too well with a number of proposed identifications.

But caution need not imply the impossibility of drawing, within reasonable limits, conclusions as to relationship between languages of isolating type. A living language is constantly changing its vocabulary; slowly, but with obliterating effect over a sufficient number of years, the changes will be such that a genuine kinship is no longer demonstrable; and if other means, such as morphological likenesses—

and morphemes are, after all, only one specialised category within
the vocabulary—fail us, then we are at a complete loss. Indo-
European may once have been, as some scholars hold, a sister
language of Semitic, or of Ugro-Finnic; but they diverged at a period
so remote that their common origin is scarcely likely ever to be
placed beyond reasonable doubt. The difficulty in regard to the
monosyllabic languages of south-east Asia is even more acute; mor-
phological vocabulary is totally wanting in most cases, and most of
the languages have undergone such extreme phonetic attrition that
the chances of any resemblance noted being accidental are greatly
increased. Significant tonality is common to many of these languages;
but tonality, and even tonality in combination with monosyllabism,
is too common a phenomenon among languages in far distant parts of
the world to be a sound basis for conclusions as to genealogical kin-
ship.

We are, in fact, disposed to assent rather to the views of G. von der
Gabelentz, when, after quoting a number of examples in dealing
with the same problem, he concludes: 'Related languages may differ
greatly in structure and spirit . . . It is, however, a fortunate circum-
stance that it is just agreements in vocabulary which are most de-
cisive for relationship of languages . . . Several words, A, B, etc., in
one language resemble each other phonetically, but are so wide apart
in meaning that an etymological connection is not to be thought of.
This is repeated in the language to be compared. For instance . . . in
the Indo-Chinese (i.e., Sinitic languages) the words for 'I', 'five', 'fish',
have as a rule the sounds *nga*, *ngya*, or such like, and those for
'you', 'two', 'ear', *na*, or perhaps *nang*, *no*, *ni*; finally 'fire' and
'eye' coincide in sounds like *mig*, *mit*, *mi*. If these agreements, or a
majority of them, are found in a language, then this language may be
regarded without more ado as Indo-Chinese . . . Comparison of
languages without comparison of sounds is a thankless amusement'.
If it be remembered that, in the last resort, linguistic kinship is
warranted solely by a system of phonetic correspondences linking
the languages together, or, rather, linking each of them to a common
ancestral form, and this specially so in regard to the words least
liable to borrowing, then it will be seen that the task of tracing the
historical relationship of the Far Eastern monosyllabic languages is
not so hopeless as might be thought, even if we must suspend judgment

on many points where a historical connection appears possible until that connection shall be confirmed by a statement of the phonetic 'laws' governing the equivalences of sound.

Much loose thinking on the subject of linguistic kinship has its origin in the preference of structure or form over vocabulary as the criterion; and the Sinitic studies are not the least sufferers in this regard from the days of Terrien de Lacouperie onwards. As Kroeber has well said, the assignment of a language to this or that family, and the construction of family groups, on the basis of formal likeness alone, is prevalent in regard to tongues which have only just begun to be subjected to a painstaking analysis, and this in a way which would not be tolerated in regard to the Indo-European or Semitic languages. It is notorious that the former at least have not adhered to one morphological type, and, if we were to be guided in Indo-European linguistics by the formal rather than by the lexical aspect, it must be admited that modern English stands nearer to modern Chinese than to its true relatives of the highly inflected type. Every language, except perhaps those of the most primitive and isolated communities, has at some period been intimately influenced by others. Particularly is this true of the languages of the great conquering peoples, which might be described as so many pseudomorphs, materially continuous with their ancestral tongues, but deformed by the speech habits of alien peoples who have adopted them and who now constitute the bulk of their speakers.

In our study the effect of rashness in combining languages into families without first doing the painful work of analysing the vocabularies and establishing phonetic laws is aggravated by the ease with which words, consisting in so many cases of one consonant plus one vowel, and very seldom, in modern forms, of more than one consonantal initial and final with a medial vowel (to which, for the sake of completeness we may add the tone), will fit a number of identifications. Karlgren has quoted the example of the Chinese word now '*ɕiŋ* in Pekingese, but probably **g'aŋ* about the fifth century B.C.; it means 'to go', and recalls Germanic words of similar meaning and sound. The case might easily be multiplied a hundredfold, if one cares to dispense with rigid sound laws and with historical probability; and it would be in this way proved that Chinese is an Indo-European language. We therefore put aside the

theories which, on a basis of similar word-order or grammatical struc-
ture, with too easily discovered verbal resemblances, would bring the
Miao and T'ai languages (and therefore Chinese) into one genetically
related group. Miao and T'ai have, in the belief of the present writer,
indeed close relationship with Chinese; but it is a relationship of
influence and not of kinship; the ways in which that influence seems
to have been exerted will appear in the course of this work.

It will be our task in the following chapters to trace the course of
Chinese linguistic history, and to mark the various influences of
aboriginal languages, and the internal conflicts of its own dialects,
which have shaped Chinese in the course of centuries and resulted
in the standard of speech and writing of the present day, as well as
in the strongly differentiated dialects which that standard has never
yet succeeded in displacing.

INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER II

THE WRITTEN CHARACTER

The subject of the system of writing, which in the case of most languages might well have been relegated to an appendix, claims a special place at the outset of our inquiry because of its peculiar importance in the investigation of the ancient sounds of Chinese.

Father Wieger ascribes certain inscriptions on bronze vessels, with some hesitation, to as high a date as the twentieth century B.C.; on general grounds it is considered likely that the art of writing was known to the Chinese as early as the twenty-second century, which accords with native traditions: it is at least certain that the earliest known specimens of Chinese writing have moved far from a purely naturalistic representation of objects, which was presumably, here as elsewhere, the earliest form. The most primitive of the dedicatory inscriptions seem to represent a stage of writing on the border-line between mnemonic picture-writing in the strict sense, which delineates a scene without analysing it, and an early form of the Chinese ideographic script, where a character stands for a word, and where the words are assembled in the order of speech. Such engravings can therefore be interpreted but not translated. Before the end of the Shang dynasty (1122 B.C.) that stage had been left behind, and we see inscriptions which follow a regular formula, beginning with a date and a statement of the circumstances, generally some official promotion or other royal favour, which prompted the dedication, and ending with a prayer that the votary's descendants may enjoy the gift through unending generations. When this stage has been reached, we have the Chinese script in all its essentials; and, although some characters remain obscure, most of them are readily identifiable with those still in use.

Connections have been sought—and found, to the satisfaction of the seekers—between the Chinese script and that of Sumeria, although when we first see it the Chinese writing is less developed than was the Sumerian cuneiform already two thousand years earlier than the earliest date to which we can assign the first of the inscribed bronzes. Both writings had their origin in drawings

of natural objects, and many Chinese characters as used today may still be recognised as much altered pictures of some natural object; of such are the symbols for 'sun' 日, 'moon' 月, 'child' 子, 'tree' 木. But there is no such specific resemblance between the Chinese and the pre-cuneiform Sumerian as would make it necessary to assume historical connection between the two at any stage in their evolution; and it has been further objected that it is unlikely that a people acquainted with the method of impressing signs on clay should have abandoned that method of writing while living in a region as plentifully supplied with the raw material as were the loess plains of north China.

A written system to be anything more than a mere mnemonic could not remain at the level of picture-writing; for the conveyance of abstract notions and even of many concrete ideas the drawing of external forms is plainly inadequate. The Chinese met this difficulty in several ways. Ideas which could not well be shown in drawing were suggested, more or less clearly, by means of what we call 'logical compounds'; thus 'brightness' was indicated by placing the sun and the moon side by side, giving the word 明, P. *'miŋ*; and we may place in the same category, although they are not compounds, symbols such as 二, 'two'; 上, 'up'; 下, 'down', which also contrive to suggest a notion directly.

So far, we have seen no characters which could give to the person unacquainted with that particular word any clue whatever as to its pronunciation. But the development of writing went further still, and the advance was a necessary one. Chinese had several words for 'bright', or for various degrees of brightness: how could the writer show which one was intended by a sign which merely suggested the idea in its most general way? Certain characters from time to time fell out of use along with the objects which they represented; the custom grew up of using these characters, and even others still in use for totally unconnected ideas but happening to have the same or nearly the same sound as a word for which a writing was required. Among the large number of such cases we take as examples 來, originally the drawing of an ear of corn, now universally transferred to write the word for 'come', P. *'lai*; 其, the picture of a kind of caldron (some say a basket), later applied to the homophonous word for the third personal pronoun, P. *'k̓i*. In the two cases quoted,

words having no writing of their own have taken possession of characters left idle by disuse when the words for which they were invented became obsolete; later such uses of characters in a transferred sense became exceedingly common, concurrently with their primary and authentic uses. The use of such 'chia-chie' (P. /tɕia\tɕiɛ), or 'borrowed' forms does not add to the clarity of the text, but it has proved of great service in showing what words were, at the time of their first application, near enough in sound to share one written form.

But the greatest advance in Chinese writing was still to come. When Li Sï in 213 B.C. undertook, at the command of the emperor Shih Huang Ti, a revision of the system of writing which had, as we know from the testimony of Confucius, become more and more confused, he extended and systematised a method which has remained in use to the present day. Certain of the chia-chie, transferred characters, had so established themselves in their new uses, or the object originally intended has so completely passed out of memory, that they were allowed to remain undisturbed; but in many other cases it was necessary to distinguish in writing between several similar-sounding, or identically-sounding words, which up till then had shared one character between them. It does not seem that Li Sï was the inventor of the radicals; they are found, but rarely, in use even on old inscriptions dating from the Shang dynasty, and were probably invented by some unknown but more than ordinarily ingenious scribe long before his time. Li Sï, however, it was that codified them and gave official sanction to their use. The great majority of modern Chinese characters are compounds of two parts, on the lines of the following: 洋, ACh. _jaŋ, 'ocean'; 養, ACh. ‚jaŋ, 'nourish'; 詳, ACh. _zjaŋ, 'discuss'. It will be seen that the part 羊 is common, with slight modifications, to all three of these words; and 羊 is also a word in its own right, with the meaning of 'sheep', P. 'jaŋ. Now, it is plain that the word for 'sheep' is not built into the other three characters because of any connection in meaning; actually, it is what is known as the 'phonetic', and, when the characters were first put together, it gave a fairly close approximation to the sound of all three of the others, though sound changes since that time have deprived 羊 itself and two of these compounds of their initial consonants, as we shall see later, and so leave the connection in sound less

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clear than it once was. After we have deducted the 'sheep' device from each of the three examples, the part remaining in each case is known as the 'radical', or better, as the 'signific'. The signific element in each case denotes, or, more commonly, merely suggests, an order of ideas to which the meaning of the whole belongs; hence the significs in these three cases are abbreviated or otherwise adapted forms of the words for 'water', 'eat', and 'words' respectively. This is perhaps an unusually clear case: in many cases the connection of the phonetic element, whether in sound or shape, with a word still existing independently, or with the same phonetic in other characters, has become much more obscure through changes in sound or in written form.

It is interesting to note that the list of Li Sï's characters contains only about 3,300 forms, barely the number that a modern Chinese must possess to be able to read the simpler items in a newspaper, and far below what is needed in reading the great Confucian classics or the poetry of later centuries. K'ang-hsi's great dictionary of 1716, which has so far remained the standard work of reference on the language that it is still printed and sold in large editions, contains about 40,000 different characters, of which number, says Wieger, 34,000 might be set down as quite useless. The fact is, that it is not easy to say how many separate words there are in the Chinese language (or, for that matter, in any language), even if we confine ourselves to a classical authority like K'ang-hsi. Li Sï's standardisation of the writing was, it is plain, ineffective, since his number was increased twelvefold in the succeeding twenty centuries, and very largely unnecessarily. The script has been prolific in variants, and, as any of these may be met with in reading, a dictionary must explain them all. Moreover, the over-refinement of scholars has busied itself and incurred no great gratitude from posterity by making trivial distinctions between written forms, and by embellishing many of them with unnecessary or pleonastic significs. To take two instances among the commonest words, which by no means represent the worst excesses: 果, P. /kuo, meant 'fruit', but was also, by the process of chia-chie, adopted to write the word for 'indeed', which was pronounced exactly the same; it was a legitimate application of Li Sï's method to add the 'vegetation' signific when it was used in the former sense, so that it now commonly appears as 菓. But the distinction

between 竿, P. -kan, 'a rod of bamboo', and 杆, P. -kan, 'a rod of any other wood', seems equally unfounded in etymology or convenience. Lexicographers have followed in the train of such scholars, and have sought to establish distinctions of meaning where no distinctions existed, arbitrarily allotting one form to one use, another to another.

In some cases, the differentiation of written form might well be defended as rendering the meaning clearer, as when a word evolves a highly specialised sense, hardly any longer related to the original signification. So it is, e.g., when English differentiated between 'flower' and 'flour'; such also is the case of 楣, P. 'mei, 'eaves' or 'lintel', which developed out of a metaphorical application of the word 眉, of the same sound, which means 'eyebrow'. Commentators of the Later Han dynasty often quote the classics with addition of significs absent in our received texts, or, on the other hand, with omission of the significs there present. This shows that the forms of compound characters were then still fluid; and, in fact, even at the present day there is still much variation in the forms of certain compounds.

While the numbers of the characters have been swollen by the creation of doublets, a look through any Chinese dictionary will bring to light many cases in which, under one writing, are assembled a number of meanings any connection between which seems semantically impossible. This is the case with the word /kuo, quoted above, which further has the meaning of 'resolutely'. The word 女, P. /ny, 'woman', has another pronunciation and another meaning in the older authors, P. /jy, 'you'. (The sounds were formerly closer to each other than they are now). It is probable that in the former instance, as certainly in the latter, we have a survival of the old method of chia-chie, the arbitrary use of one character in an unrelated meaning on the strength of phonetic resemblance. In more modern works the second character is written 汝 when it means 'you'; here again the 'water' signific shows that the writing has been transferred from another employment.

The text of the older works of Chinese literature, from the 'Book of Odes' (*Shih-Ching*) onwards, seems not to have been fixed in the form in which the works are now read until the Han dynasty. At that time scholars laboured to restore the old literature which the emperor

Shih Huang Ti, (221–209 B.C.), the patron of Li Sï, had done his best to efface in his memorable 'burning of the books', holding that the conservatism of the scholars was the chief obstacle to his projected new order. But, in the interval since the composition of these works, it would seem that the language had changed, in sound and in vocabulary, to such a degree that the restoration was difficult; and it is uncertain whether it was a discreet restraint which caused the Han editors to refrain from modernising, on the lines of Li Sï's spelling, too much of what they did not thoroughly understand; or whether they consciously endeavoured to restore the classics to their oldest known written form.

The classical texts have suffered unequally in this way. The compositions of Confucius and Mencius are relatively free from such archaisms as the omission or misplacement of the signific parts of compound characters, though even here we notice the use of 說 (P. -*fuo*, ArCh. *tjwat), 'speech', in place of 悅, (P. *jyɛ*, ArCh. *djwat*), 'pleased'. Waley has noted the rarity of the 'heart' radical (as in the latter of these forms), now the regular signific of mental processes and emotional states, in inscriptions of the Chou dynasty; and it may be that the form with the 'words' signific owes its retention in such cases to an attempt to restore the texts to their pristine form. But the fact that the *Shih-Ching*, for the Han editors as for us the most difficult of the old writings, contains far more than its share of such irregularities, as well as many misspellings, shows that a failure to understand the text which they were reproducing was also in part responsible. In existing texts of such an author as Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27–97), whose works, because of their heretical and sceptical tone, were probably less carefully edited than the orthodox classics, it is even now possible to find on one page the same word printed with and without the signific component. Modern usage still allows alternative forms, quite apart from informal abbreviations, for a very large number of characters.

In more recent times the Chinese have found another use for these radicals. To arrange the words in a dictionary in a fixed order of their sounds does not enable one ignorant of the sound to trace the word of which he seeks the explanation; most of the modern dictionaries made by Chinese therefore follow the plan of the celebrated dictionary compiled by order of the emperor K'ang-hsi, and assemble

the words under his 214 radicals, the number of additional strokes used in writing the character being a secondary principle of arrangement. Chinese dictionaries for the use of foreigners are usually arranged more or less phonetically and alphabetically, but all must have an index of the characters on the K'ang-hsi method. It is unfortunately the case that the selection of a part of the character as the radical was often arbitrary and unsystematic, so that to the index is added a second list of nearly a thousand characters, in order of the number of their strokes, where the identification of the radical is difficult. These are mostly characters not really compounded with the signific, but fancifully dissected so as to fit into one or the other of the 214 categories.

There is little to support the view that the writing of Chinese has in turn influenced the semantic development of the language, although it has been asserted by some writers that the etymology of a written form as seen by the reader tinges his interpretation of a passage. Thus the word 愁, 'sadness' (P. 'tṣ'ou), is compounded of the character 心, 'heart', to indicate that the meaning is connected with an emotion, and 秋, 'autumn' (P. -tf'iu), used merely as a guide to the sound; it has been alleged that the method of writing suggests to the mind the pensive mood which we connect with the decline of the year; though, as Professor Moule properly points out, this has not prevented the use of such a phrase as 春愁, P. -tṣ'un 'tṣ'ou, 'spring melancholy'. We have even cases where a character is used interchangeably with one of exactly contrary signific. In the *Shi Ching* (II, 5, 10) occurs the line read in the sounds of modern Pekingese: -tuŋ\ɪı\liɛ\liɛ, 'bitter and cold is the wintry day', and in the received text the last word is written with the 'fire' or 'heat' signific in place of the more usual and here appropriate 'ice'.

That some such influence may have existed may be allowed, but it has been at most slight in its effect; it is difficult to find a case where the graphic etymology has influenced the semantic development as clearly as the phonetic similarity of 'sorry' and 'sorrow' in English, which most English speakers apprehend as related. Even when in modern Chinese a phrase consists of two parts each having also a separate existence, the speaker is conscious as a rule only of the unitary meaning of the whole; thus 權力, P. 'tɕ'yan \li, means 'authority', indivisibly, and no one using it calls to mind the picture

of the cross-beam of a scale etymologically connoted by the former element. The kind of influence suggested could not have been exercised through the great majority of the population who have at all times been illiterate; and to those educated in the written language writing rapidly becomes so far an automatic gesture that the written word is hardly analysed. It is probable that few, however steeped in the classics, have even the faintest suggestion of astrology in their minds when they read or write such a word as 'disaster', or even dream of white raiment in connection with a candidature. It is, in fact, rather fanciful to suppose that the evolution of Chinese would have been appreciably other than it has been if its speakers had adopted, say, in T'ang times, the Tibetan alphabet and abandoned their native script; unless, of course, in so doing the Chinese had cut themselves off from their older literature.

The forms of the characters have been seized upon by the artistic sense of the Chinese, and, although the subject of calligraphy lies somewhat outside our province, it is of interest to record that, so far from esteeming it a baseness to write fair, the Chinese scholars have elevated well-proportioned and beautifully formed writing to a place among the fine arts, prizing an example of a famous writer's handwriting as they would a specimen of a great stylist's prose. This care for the form of the script is probably accountable for its very slight variation through the centuries, from the Han era to our own days. A page from a model letter-writer bearing date A.D. 856, which Leonard Giles has reproduced in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1937, might, in actual form of handwriting as in literary style, have been written yesterday. Modern books are printed in the T'ang characters or in Sung characters according to the taste of their authors or of the public.

For the same reason we cannot do more than mention the different types of writing, 'great seal', 'little seal', etc. The change from one to another was largely determined by the adoption of new writing materials. Their only importance for linguistic study, and that a small one, is that the change in form seems in some cases to have misled Li Sï, so that modern characters in a few cases seem to be attached to simpler forms than those from which they are really descended, and thus cause some uncertainty as to the phonetic evolution. But such cases are few. The so-called 'grass characters' are nothing more

SPECIMENS OF CHINESE SCRIPTS

The Small Seal (chuan su) Character, Chow Dynasty:

冎 屮 祭 楷 隸 篆

The Official Style, time of Li Sï:

冎 屮 行 楷 繇 篆

The Ch'iai Shu, or formal written style, Han Dynasty:

宋 草 行 楷 隸 篆

The Hsing Shu, or 'running hand', as ordinarily now written; end of Han Dynasty:

宋 草 行 楷 繇 篆

The 'Grass Characters', used for fugitive writings, and varying widely with the individual writer:

宋 草 行 楷 隸 篆

The normal modern printed type, dating from the Sung Dynasty:

宋 草 行 楷 隸 篆

The same six characters are used to illustrate each type.

(From: Hillier, *The Chinese Language and How to Learn it:* London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 10th edition, 1942).

than the ordinary cursive forms, or the extreme variety of these, simplified in outline by running together the numerous strokes required to form the authentic symbol, and used for private notes and familiar correspondence. The running hand is so far from being a modern deformation of the Chinese script that we find it sufficiently well-established in the Later Han dynasty to be allowed then in memorials to the throne; and specimens from the fourth Christian century show forms substantially the same as those now in use. Strictly speaking, the characters as ordinarily printed and as ordinarily learnt by foreigners, correspond to our Roman capitals, and we give an exaggerated idea of the clumsiness of Chinese character writing if we compare the time taken to write these with that required to write the equivalent English words in our ordinary handwriting; the proper comparison would be with the time needed to write stroke by stroke our capital letters as we have them in printed books. Forms known as 'hsing shu' (9), P. *'çiŋ-ṣu*, intermediate between the 'grass characters' and the (10), P. */k'ai -ṣu*, or usual printed forms, are the current handwriting.

In modern times many attempts have been made, first by Europeans, later by Chinese themselves, to devise an alphabetic method of representing the Chinese language. None of these schemes can be unreservedly pronounced successful. The most widely known, that of Wade (for which reference may be made to the 'System of Transcription' at the head of this book), as well as the modifications of this used by Giles for his dictionary and by the China Inland Mission respectively, are complicated by the superscript numerals added for the indication of the tones; and other recently popularised alphabetic systems suffer from corresponding complexities in the ill-conceived endeavour to adapt the end in view to the means available—in this case, the typewriter—instead of providing the latter with the devices which the end demands. The last sentence relates in particular to the system used in the *Gwoyeu Charngyonq Tzyhhuey*, (1932); this system, though it had the official recognition of the former Nationalist government of China, and is still widely used in Britain and U.S.A., must be regarded as regrettable. It attempts, in fact, to embody in itself too many desiderata—an official romanisation for any Chinese proper names and other words that may be introduced into writings in European languages, and a means, chiefly of use to foreign

students of Chinese, to the precise representation of Chinese sounds. For the former purpose notation of the tone is superfluous, as it will not in any case be pronounced by the readers; for the latter it is desirable that all the sounds be noted with clarity and consistency as well as with exactitude, and an immediately lucid sound value is not evident in the 'romatzyh'.

More can be said in favour of the 'National Phonetic' spelling system, which consists of a series of characters derived by simplification from certain of the old characters, in the same way as the Japanese kana forms were developed. This system has proved its usefulness in the representation of pronunciation in Chinese dictionaries, giving for the first time an absolute phonetic value to the ideograms, whereas the old *fan-ts'ie* spelling gave the sounds only in terms of other characters. The system is, moreover, well-adapted to the teaching of the classical language to the Chinese themselves, as school texts can now be provided with the sounds of the more uncommon characters. For the less-educated section of the people complete texts have been published in this script, which is perfectly comprehensible so long as it is used to represent the colloquial language only. The manifold spelling systems based on the Roman alphabet and devised by missionaries for the representation of one or other of the local dialects, though cumbered in most cases with a formidable apparatus of tone-marks and other diacritics, may be regarded as each successful within its limited sphere.

More recent developments in the simplification of Chinese writing are treated in Chapter XII.

THE WRITTEN CHARACTER

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METHODS OF INVESTIGATION OF
THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE

The history of Chinese has been divided into five periods, viz., Proto-Chinese, Archaic Chinese, Ancient Chinese, Middle Chinese, and the modern language. The nomenclature is purely a matter of convenience, and the dates selected must not be understood as marking the ends of natural epochs, or even as defining the beginning or ends of periods of accelerated linguistic change. The divisions are made just at those times because it so happens that we have documents of those approximate dates which put us in a position to ascertain more or less accurately what the language was then like. Thus the first period includes Chinese as we know it from the very earliest monuments, literary or otherwise; foreign contacts with lettered peoples had not yet begun, so that we can derive no help from transliteration of foreign words and names to help us to fix the value of the Chinese symbols. This is the period which witnessed the production of the most ancient poetry and the oldest known inscriptions.

The division between it and the succeeding period, that of Archaic Chinese, is marked by the work of Confucius and Mencius and their immediate followers, and a round date is 500 B.C. In the middle of the Archaic Period, about 200 B.C., the Chinese writing as we know the system today, was codified by the labours of Li Sï. The phonetic features of Ancient Chinese (the language of the first six centuries of our era), or, as we shall have occasion to emphasise later, of one of its dialects, the standard, are summed up for us in the *Ts'ie-yün* (11) of Lu Fa-yen, a pronouncing dictionary of the language as spoken at the centre of the empire, Ch'ang-an (Sian, in the modern Shensi province), where the book was published in A.D. 601. The end of the Middle Chinese period and the beginning of Modern Chinese is also conveniently marked for us by the publication of the so-called 'rime tables' of Sz-ma Kuang in 1067. Earlier dictionaries had been arranged according to the rimes of the words, and, because many of

these had in the course of time come to coincide in sound, scholars of the time using the contemporary pronunciation found it more and more troublesome to trace words arranged according to the richer phonetic system of earlier times. The rime tables were therefore devised as an index to existing dictionaries: their chief importance for us is the light which they throw on the phonetic simplification of the language.

Some subdivision of the immensely long history of Chinese was obviously necessary; but the division given is somewhat unsatisfactory in more than one respect. In the first place, the terminology is not parallel with that used in describing other languages; we might have expected 'Old' instead of 'Ancient', the use of which may be due to the accident that Karlgren and many other pioneers wrote in French their best-known works. In the second place, the periods are too long in cases where the changes in the language can be followed closely; while in the more frequent case, where we have a fairly detailed knowledge of it for one point of time and place only, and can only infer changes to have taken place between that point and the next following similarly available for examination, we have seldom the means of knowing whether those changes had taken place just before they were recorded, or were already established usage for many centuries before. There would be much to recommend a reference to phases of the language by the name of the dynasty reigning at the time, for in several instances a change of dynasty appears to have brought into use as the standard dialect a form of Chinese which was not a simple development of that which it supplanted; this is particularly applicable to the great dynasties of Han and T'ang. Maspero preferred to describe the whole period from the end of the Three Kingdoms (say 265 A.D.) to the end of the Sung dynasty (1280) as 'Middle Chinese', all earlier stages being grouped together as 'Archaic', all later as 'Modern', of necessity subdividing these immensely long periods each into an early and a late phase; but the scheme has not found general favour. The terminology here adopted is so firmly established in the writings of Karlgren, Simon, and many other writers, in Chinese as well as in English, that it would be merely confusing to attempt an alteration.

More serious, perhaps, is the fact that such a division and nomenclature as we have used may suggest to the student that we are mark-

ing stages in an orderly progression, faster in one era and slower in the next, but nevertheless constant in direction, as if it proceeded to a determined end. Against such an impression it is, in the opinion of the present writer, desirable to give a word of warning. The history of Chinese shows indeed a constant movement, and so long as we confine our attention to the more general features of the changes, there is a certain constancy in direction. But there are at least two moments in the history of Chinese when the language, if by that we mean the standard form of the time, was put aside and another standard of speech substituted for it: this in turn was later abandoned, and a return made to the earlier tradition, which must have continued a local or subliminal existence in the interval, and which was then adopted anew, in a further evolved form, as the standard which has continued to our times. The Chinese of the T'ang dynasty, in fact, represents an interruption in what may otherwise have been on the surface an imperceptibly slow process of development.

The methods by which the pronunciations of earlier ages of the Chinese language have been made known to us are in themselves a fascinating study of success in what might at first seem to be a hopeless task, and the achievement deserves mention along with the story of the decipherment of Egyptian and cuneiform. For many centuries Chinese scholars have been aware that their language had changed in sound. Words in the older poetry which might be expected to rime did so no longer in any dialect; the description of the sounds of unusual words given by the old commentators contradicted each other when the words to which they were likened were given the later pronunciation; and in the 'rime tables', to be described later in this chapter, words were brought together which no longer rimed, while on the other hand, distinctions in rime were made corresponding to nothing in the later language. Many were the attempts to restore the sounds of the language in which the *Shi Ching* was written; but these attempts were at best only partially successful, for want of sound ideas on linguistic development, and because the scholars who made them did not appreciate the purely practical ends (the framing of a canon for the public examinations in verse composition) which the makers of the rime tables had in view. Von Rosthorn has recently given a useful summary of the methods and conclusions of the earlier Chinese investigators.

THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE

In our account of the methods of research into the older stages of the language, it will be necessary to treat the several periods in the reverse of chronological order. This is particularly evident as regards the sounds of the language. The modern sound values are a matter of observation, and it is from them that we infer the sounds of older periods. Having established the sounds of Ancient Chinese (of the sixth century), we build again on that foundation for the reconstruction of the Archaic Chinese pronunciation.

First and foremost must, of course, come the comparative study of the modern Chinese dialects, which give us, as it were, the raw material for our enterprise. A dialect which maintains a final consonant, as does Hakka, for instance, in (12), 'wood', H. ⌐\muk, is likely to be in that respect more archaic than one which, like Ningpo or Fuchow, shows the same word ending in a glottal stop, and still more conservative than Pekingese with its \mu, from which every vestige of a final consonant has disappeared (except, perhaps, for the tone). A dialect which keeps sounds distinct (as d- and t- in Wênchow and Ningpo) against the uniform t- of the dialects of Fukien, and especially when it cannot be shown that there was any difference in the circumstances (tone, nature of the following vowel, etc.) to account for the differential treatment of the initial, may similarly be considered to preserve a feature of the ancient language rather than to have initiated a new subdivision of one ancient sound. It is a cardinal principle in linguistic research that, when a certain sound in a language at a given period is subject to phonetic change, that sound will be equally affected by the change in every word where it occurs in like surroundings. We see, therefore, that a modern difference presupposes an ancient difference, unless the two sounds can be found to have evolved out of one sound by the operation in the several cases of different neighbouring sounds. Cantonese pronounces both (13), 'oven', and (14), 'trouble', as _lou; Hakka has them respectively as ₁lu and ₁lau. The vowel sound is similarly placed; no dialect gives us reason to believe that the two words once ended in different consonants now lost; the tones are the same. We therefore do not hesitate to say that Hakka has kept apart two originally distinct sounds, not that Hakka has subdivided one ancient sound; and we therefore consider Hakka more reliable as regards this particular sound than is Cantonese when it comes to restoring the ancient pronunciation.

Under the same head we might perhaps have considered what can be learnt from the so-called 'foreign dialects' of Chinese, i.e., the forms assumed by Chinese words when these were borrowed wholesale into Korean, Japanese, and Annamese. Korean took over the Chinese script, and with it the pronunciation, about the third century A.C., and Japanese history records the introduction by Korean scholars of the Confucian classics in the same century. The Japanese borrowed the script with the phonetic values which the characters had in the Yangtsze delta region not long afterwards, and in the seventh-ninth centuries they took over also the Northern pronunciation. These two systems of pronunciation of the symbols in Japanese are known respectively as go-on (15), (P. *'wu-jin*, 'Wu sounds', Wu being the name of an old kingdom round the mouth of the Yangtsze), and kan-on (16), (P. *xan-jin*, 'Han sounds', 'Han' standing then, as it still does in most dialects except those of the south, for 'Chinese'). It was in the ninth century that the script came to be used in Annam. In the two former countries it is still in use, and was only in the nineteenth century supplanted in Annam by a new alphabet, the quoc-ngu, invented by missionaries and based on the Portuguese values of the Latin alphabet.

All three of these languages Korean, Japanese and Annamese have taken many of the Chinese words into everyday use, and they there maintain the pronunciation of the times of borrowing, subject only to such later phonetic changes as each of the languages has undergone. With this reservation, they bear witness to the older sounds of Chinese, just as the German *kirsche* and the Gaelic *cill* bear witness to a 'hard' *c* in the Latin words *cerasus* and *cella* respectively, although no Romance language except one Sardinian dialect now has the *k*- sound in such circumstances. It must not be supposed that the Chinese sounds were in all cases preserved exactly in these three languages; each of them has adjusted the Chinese words more or less to its own speech habits. Of the three, only Annamese has a tonal system; Korean and Japanese simply dropped the tones. Both Korean and Japanese seem to have had difficulty with final dentals (the latter with other final consonants also), and have replaced them, the former by -*l*, the latter by -*tsu*. (There are, however, certain indications that -*t* was already weakened to a fricative in the Chinese dialect taken over by the Koreans). Caution is therefore necessary in

using this method of reaching the older pronunciation of Chinese. These borrowings are, nevertheless, of prime importance in the dating of sound changes in Chinese; any change found already accomplished in the Chinese vocabulary of these three languages, and not common to their non-Chinese words, must obviously have been completed in the Chinese dialect from which the words were taken, and so gives us a valuable *terminus ad quem* for the sound change in question. Thus, if we find Annamese showing *v-* where Northern Chinese has *w-* and Cantonese *m-* (as in (17), P. /wei, ACh. *mjwei*, Cantonese *mei*), we may infer that by the tenth century the sound of *mjw-* had, at least in the dialect learnt by the Annamese, changed so far as to be nearer to *v-* than to *m-*.

The so-called 'rime tables', in which words are set out in horizontal columns according to their final sounds and in vertical columns according to their initials, are first found in the eleventh century. It long puzzled scholars to find that these tables divided the unvoiced and unaspirated occlusive initials (*p, t, k,* also *ts* and the other affricates) of modern dialects, with apparent arbitrariness, into two vertical columns. E.g., (18), P. \pan, and (19), P. \pan, both begin with *p-* in the majority of modern dialects, but were assigned to different columns. Light was thrown on the mystery when it was observed that the distinction between the two columns tallied in the main with the distinction between voiced (*b, d, g, dz*) and unvoiced (*p, t, k, ts*) initials in the modern Wu dialects (of Shanghai and adjacent regions) and that the same distinction is traceable in the go-on version of Sino-Japanese. So was brought to light one of the most far-reaching lines of cleavage between Ancient Chinese and most of the modern dialects; the former possessed voiced as well as voiceless stops; and we know that they still both existed in the court dialect of the eleventh century, since Sz-ma composed his rime tables by imperial command. Other dictionaries and similar works give us help in other ways, as, for instance, by the number of tones which they recognise in the dialect recorded. The dictionary composed by Chou Tê-ch'ing in the year 1324 is notable as the last clear evidence which we have of the distinction of the final *-m* in the dialects of the north.

Of much the same nature as the rime tables are the 'fan-ts'ie', (20), spellings in Chinese dictionaries from the *Ts'ie-yün* onwards. The

pronunciation of a character is given there by means of two other characters presumably already known to the person using the dictionary. These two characters are written together, the first giving the initial consonant, if any, of the word to be spelled, and the latter its vowel, final consonant (if there was one), and tone. Thus, if we turn up in K'ang-hsi's dictionary the word (526), which in modern Pekingese is *'lin*, we find the sound indicated by (517) (527), *l(i' ɛ) in.* This system of spelling, the introduction of which into China may be due to Buddhist missionaries of Han times, will sometimes prove that two words now differentiated sounded alike at the time when the dictionary was compiled; in certain cases it may be inferred, but with less certainty, from the use of different initials or different finals in spelling, that sounds now fallen together were still distinguished in the dialect of the composer of the dictionary.

The conclusions to which we are led by the use of all these methods may again be tested by comparison with the sounds given by men of the Han and T'ang dynasties in transliterating the large number of Sanskrit words introduced by the Buddhists from the first century onwards. Thanks to the work of eminent native grammarians and phoneticians, the sounds of Sanskrit even so long ago as centuries before our era are known very accurately indeed; we must make the same reservation in interpreting the equivalents here as we did with regard to the representation of Chinese sounds in the foreign dialects, for we cannot suppose that Chinese had then a sound exactly the same as any given sound of Sanskrit. The data for comparison are fewer than those afforded by the other methods of approach, and we cannot always say precisely when a certain transliteration was first used, nor in what dialect; but so far as they go the results of these comparisons confirm admirably the sound system of Ancient Chinese to which the other methods lead us.

Chinese renderings of words in the languages of Central Asian peoples with whom they came into contact are less useful, as we have not the precise knowledge of the sounds of those languages which we have in the case of Sanskrit. An exception must be made in the case of the Mongol 'phagspa writing of Chinese words, but that refers to the time of Middle Chinese, and will be dealt with in a later chapter.

A fortunate chance has preserved for us a Buddhist catechism in the Chinese language, but in Tibetan script, together with a version

in Chinese script, the former designed, apparently, for the use of monks whose language was Chinese, but who could not readily read the Chinese character. The documents date from the eighth century, and the Tibetan alphabet may be assumed to have there the values with which the letters were borrowed not long before from an Indian source. We shall have more to say of these valuable documents in the chapter on Ancient Chinese, to which period they refer. Although the dialect represented seems to differ somewhat from the standard of the time, they conform closely to the pronunciation deduced for the T'ang era.

Of still later date are the transcriptions of Chinese—by this time specifically the northern dialect—into the Mongol alphabet, and the representation of a vocabulary of Malay and Cham words and phrases by means of Chinese characters which throw much light on the state of its phonology in the fourteenth century; these will be dealt with at greater length in the chapter dealing with Middle and Modern Chinese.

It seems probable that it was within the Archaic Period that the majority of the present written characters were formed, in so far as they were not merely pictographs, i.e., so far as they consist of signific combined with phonetic parts. It was the use which he found possible to make of these combinations, together with a careful sifting of the *Shi-Ching* rimes, which enabled Karlgren to establish, with a fair degree of accuracy, the sound system of Archaic Chinese; though our knowledge of the sounds of Confucius' time must fall far short of the completeness of our understanding of that of the sixth century B.C. Karlgren made the assumption, and the success with which it has explained the phonetic growth of the language is its ample justification, that, when the same phonetic is used in two different characters, those two characters had at the time of their invention the same, or nearly the same, sound, however much they may have come to differ in any modern dialect. By 'nearly the same sound' in this connection Karlgren understands homorganic sounds, i.e., sounds produced by the speech organs in the same positions, though they may differ in respect of voice and aspiration. E.g., a phonetic sounding *da* might be used to form a character sounding *da*, *ta*, or *t'a*, but not for one sounding *ba* or *ka*, and rarely for one sounding *na*.

The application of this principle, together with consideration of the curious facts of the distribution of the occlusives in Ancient Chinese, led Karlgren to still more interesting results. Ancient Chinese had voiceless occlusives, both aspirated (as *k'*) and unaspirated (*k*); but among the voiced stops it had the aspirated forms only; it had *g'* but no *g*. Now, there are certain words used as phonetics in other characters, such as (528), ACh. _*jɛu*, which themselves have no trace of an initial consonant in Ancient Chinese (and rarely and doubtfully in any modern dialect), but which yet act as phonetics in making characters which have such initials; so the character just quoted forms (529), ACh. _*d'ieu*, P. '*t'iao*. There are many others, like (530), ACh. _*gwək*, P. *xuo*, which act as phonetics in characters having velar initials as in (236), ACh. ⁻*kwək*, P. '*kuo*, as well as in others without initial consonants, such as (235), ACh. _*jwək*, P. *jy*. The most significant fact, however, is that the initials seldom mix; a given phonetic acts as such for words with no initial or with velar initial, for words with no initial or with dental initial, and so on; but only very exceptionally will it be found in words with velar and also in words with dental initials. Of these exceptional groups with mixed initials we shall have more to say when dealing with Proto-Chinese (Ch. VI).

The conclusion from these facts is that these words, which appear in Ancient Chinese without initial consonants, and which are all in the lower tones, represent the missing series of simple unaspirated voiced consonants, which had already disappeared from the standard language of the sixth century and from all modern dialects (with few exceptions, to be mentioned later). Thus, to keep to our examples, Karlgren inferred that _*jɛu* really began with *d*- at the time when it was used to spell the sound of _*d'ieu*.

By parallel reasoning, from the fact that (192), ACh. ˌ*luo*, has (125), ACh. ⁻*kak* as phonetic, and from other similar cases, Karlgren established the existence in character-building times of compound initial consonants, in this case *kl*-, *gl*-, like those of many of the neighbouring languages. The compound could not have been *kl*- in both the above cases, for then both would have kept or both would have lost the velar; if we suppose *gl*- in the Archaic stage in the former word, then the fall of the *g*- agrees exactly with its fate in _*jwək*, quoted above.

THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE

In the above three paragraphs we have closely followed Karlgren's reasoning; but it must not be overlooked that the conclusions thus reached present us in themselves with some difficult problems, particularly that of the existence in Archaic Chinese of four grades of initial occlusives and affricates, as against a maximum of three in its Tibeto-Burman relatives. In Chapter VI we shall examine these difficulties at greater length and suggest an alternative interpretation of the facts before us.

Finally, we must refer to the assistance to be derived from the study of the oldest poetry, chiefly contained in the *Shi-Ching*, a compilation traditionally ascribed to Confucius but in any case containing material already ancient in his day. All Chinese poetry is rimed, blank verse being quite unknown in the language; and, although it is possible to doubt whether the oldest versifiers were not occasionally content with assonance, it is found that the assumption that full rimes were intended gives a reasonably consistent scheme of pronunciation for the oldest period. Even at that time final sounds were less varied than they are in most languages, so that there was so much the less need to resort to imperfect rimes. We shall observe in Chapter VI the important results, in the shape of restoration of consonantal finals now everywhere lost, to which the study of these old poems leads, particularly when taken in conjunction with that of the composition of the characters.

Very recently a new and promising line of investigation has been opened up by Li Fang-kuei's examination of the forms of Chinese loan-words in the T'ai languages. The material so far dealt with is rather scanty, as, although these languages, or the more northerly of them, are known to be full of Chinese elements, it is seldom easy to be sure that words taken for comparison were borrowed at the same period and represent one stage in the history of Chinese sounds, or even, Chinese and T'ai being in the view of many authorities closely akin, that a word resembling a Chinese is not its authentic T'ai counterpart; but, so far as they go, the results obtained tend to confirm those reached by other methods for the language of the Archaic Period.

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GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF
THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

It is by no means easy to characterise in a short space a language known to us for some four thousand years, and one, moreover, which has, during that period, undergone intense changes affecting it in every particular. To almost every possible generalisation some exception may be found in the earliest language or in the modern colloquial, or in one dialect or another. The history of Chinese is the history of the change of a fully monosyllabic and, relatively, phonetically rich language into one to which we can only with much qualification apply the term monosyllabic at all, and which, in its standard form at least, is one of the least well-provided with distinctly sounding words.

Chinese philologists, who were no mean students of their own language, never experienced a need to distinguish parts of speech beyond making a division into (21), P. -ɕy\tsɤ, 'empty words', i.e., particles, themselves empty of definable meaning but indicating the relations between the other words, and (22), P. 'ʂɿ\tsɤ, those with a concrete significance; at most sometimes going so far as to distinguish nouns from verbs, though such a distinction is, in a language so utterly devoid of flexion, of doubtful validity. The further we go back into the earlier stages of Chinese, the easier it is to gather instances of interchange of function between these two parts of speech, and the facts will be better stated if it be said that a given word is used in this or that place in a nominal or a verbal sense. Broadly it may be said that a word may do duty for any part of speech within the limits set by its intrinsic meaning; and, particularly, that what seem at first sight to be adjectives are in a very large number of cases capable of use as nouns and as verbs, and almost universally used as adverbs. In spite of the opinion of some eminent scholars, the last word on the question probably rests with Dobson: 'Undistributed, a plerematic word might be said to represent a notion undifferentiated by grammatical quality, and it is the tactical situation, rather than

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any inherent grammatical meaning, that invests the word with that quality.' (*Late Archaic Chinese*, ch. 2.)

The most marked peculiarities of the language as a whole are phonological, and consist in its tonality and its very restricted number of distinct syllables, even when the tonal differences are taken into account. Most of the other features of the language as now existing derive from these, and are, briefly, a fixed word order and other devices whereby it is enabled to compensate this phonetic poverty.

The words consist typically of a single syllable, and are invariable in form. Everywhere, however, these monosyllables have come to be cemented together, more or less indissolubly. We have already quoted the instance of *'p'əŋ |ju*, (7), 'friend', where two syllables of closely similar meaning have reached a stage where in the spoken language they can no longer be used apart, and this instance is typical of a numerous class of compounds, which, however, differ *ad infinitum* in their degree of cohesion, from *'p'əŋ |ju* at one extreme to such cases as (28), P. -*su \ts'ai*, 'vegetables', or (24), P. -*şu 'tşi*, 'books', at the other, where the addition of the second syllable might almost be described as ornamental and depending on the rhythm of the sentence, for -*su* and -*şu* respectively express the ideas quite fully and adequately if used alone, as they generally are. Somewhere between the two extremes fall cases in which the monosyllable carrying the meaning is not usually pronounced in isolation, but is nevertheless readily detachable in order to form other combinations differing in meaning. Of such is the word (25), P. *|əɹ*, 'ear', which is used in that sense in the compounds (26) *|əɹ tou* (Pekingese) and *,ji'tşai* (Cantonese), both being the ordinary colloquial for 'ear', but appears without its complement in (27), P. *|əɹ'luŋ*, 'deaf'. The addition of the syllable *'tşai* in Cantonese in this and many other words, and of (28), *tsɤ* (vulgarly (29), *ɹ*) in Pekingese, both being in origin diminutive suffixes (or more properly meaning 'child') bear a curious likeness to the large development of diminutive forms in the Romance languages (French *soleil* representing a Vulgar Latin *soliculo*, 'little sun'; French *abeille* deriving from a diminutive *apicula* which drove out the old French *ef* from Latin *apem*), and may be due to the same causes, to a feeling on the part of the speakers that the single syllable as phonetically reduced was too slight to bear the weight of emphasis.

There is no need to give space to the compounds which are obvious-
ly justified on grounds of qualification of their meaning, such as (30),
P. *'tʃ'a \jε*, 'tea leaves', which is necessarily used to distinguish the
raw material from the beverage known as *'tʃ'a*. But there is one
other class of compound phrases which is of particular importance in
Chinese. In an earlier stage Chinese seems, like other primitive
languages, languages, that is, used by a people who have not yet ad-
vanced beyond a purely material culture, to have been plentifully
endowed with vocabulary to indicate every variety of object which
its speakers found it useful to name, but poorly supplied with
general terms. In the development of the language, there being
nothing equivalent to the affixes with which other languages build
abstract words, the want was supplied by compound phrases, formed
usually from two specific nouns taken as typical of the class to which
both belong in meaning. Thus (31), P. *'tɕ'in*, 'bird' and (32), P.
\sou, 'beast', are put together to form the regular modern word for
'animal', *'tɕ'in sou*; neither component is used alone in the modern
language. 'Length' or 'dimension' is expressed by (33), P. */tʃ'its'un*,
literally 'foot inch'. All the examples given have been of nouns; but
it would be easy to exemplify the same process among the verbs, and,
in the case of adjectives, the common addition of (34), P. *\sɤ*, to
adjectives of colour, etymologically well founded in the case of (35),
P. *'lan*, 'blue' (which was originally a noun, the name of the indigo
plant), and some others, may owe its extension to the same causes
which favoured the combination of the diminutive suffix with certain
nouns. Many nouns and verbs once current singly, and still so used in
the literary style, survive today in the spoken dialects only in com-
binations, in which the meanings of the several parts are obscured, as
they are in English compounds like 'cupboard' and 'holiday'.

Dobson has called attention to another way in which Chinese has
departed from strict monosyllabism, viz., reduplication, as in *⁻ɕiŋ
⁻ɕiŋ*, 'ape' (540), and, more important, semi-reduplication, as in the
word for 'camel', with which animal the Chinese seem first to have
become acquainted in the last centuries B.C. It was at first called
*dlak dlak, probably also simply **dlak* (since the uncompounded
form is in this case used alone). Later, not earlier than the end of the
Han period, we find the form which, restored to its ArCh. pronuncia-
tion, reads **lak dlak*, whence the modern Pekingese *\lo/t'o*. The

example is the more interesting since in it we see the dissyllable in process of formation. Other compounds cannot be explained in this way, nor in any of the other ways referred to above; in P. *'hu'tiɛ*, (541), 'butterfly', the former component cannot be used alone, while the later can,—apparently with the vague sense of 'something flat, leaf-like'; but the early forms of the syllables rule out reduplication in this case.

A contrary tendency is shown by the strangely named 'allegro forms', i.e., alternative pronunciations in which two syllables commonly enunciated separately fuse into one. Some such have long been recognised by Chinese scholars, and several go back to Archaic times. The instance of ⁻*tʂu* (542), abridged from ⁻*tsɪ'xu* (543), ArCh. respectively *ṭʎjo and *ṭʎjəγ + *go, is well recognised; other cases quoted are for phonetic reasons less plausible. A similar phenomenon appears in the modern dialects: C. /*deŋ*, 'locality', is used and understood by many native speakers as a telescoped form of ‿*te:i* `*fɔŋ* (544, 545).

Stress accent in a language where the majority of the syllables are even now so loosely joined together that they are still capable of independent existence, or of entering into other compounds, would hardly appear to have the same importance as in fundamentally polysyllabic languages. It is of considerably greater importance in some dialects than in others, e.g. in Pekingese and most northern dialects, where the unstressed syllable appears to lose its proper tone, only the fully stressed syllable being also fully toned in each stress-group; in Cantonese, on the other hand, lack of stress does not involve loss of tone, and, according to Vömel, tonic accent is in Hakka so strong as to obscure the stress.

The incidence of stress is to a large extent logical; that is to say, the more significant words are stressed at the expense of the less significant. There is, however, a curious exception to this rule in the case of the negative particle, which can never bear the stress. It is probably to be connected with the fact that the personal pronouns are normally omitted except when required for the clarity of the sentence that they receive in Chinese greater relative stress than they do, e.g., in English, where their omission is less usual. Certain parts of speech, in addition to the negative particle, never carry the stress; such are the diminutive suffix, auxiliary verbs, prepositions and postpositions, and classifiers.

Of special interest is the apportionment of stress between the parts of compound expressions, a subject which has hitherto received less attention than it deserves. It is nevertheless of considerable importance; in many dialects a wrong tone will do less to make the phrase unintelligible than will a wrong apportionment of stress among the parts of a compound. The general rule is that the stress tends to fall on the former part in two-syllable compounds: but this tendency is subject to the very decided power of the syllable in a tone derived from one of the ancient upper tones to attract the stress to itself. This attraction is particularly powerful if the higher-toned syllable is also in the level (p'ing) tone; compare in Cantonese (36), *'fɔ ˌtṣ'aːi*, lit. 'fire timber' > 'matches', accented on the syllable *'fɔ*, with (37) *'fɔ 'tṣ'ɛ*, lit. 'fire-carriage' > 'railway train', accented on the latter part; (30), *ˌtṣ'a _jiːp*, lit. 'tea leaves', with (38), *ˌtṣ'a 'fa*, 'tea flower', i.e., camellia, the former accented on its first part, the latter on the syllable *'fa*. Chinese word order demands that the defining word precede the defined, and as the former conveys the more specific meaning, this principle may lie behind the much qualified rule of stress on the former part of compounds.

The explanation here offered, which is, I note, shared in part by Mullie, appears to meet the facts somewhat better on the whole than does that suggested by Y. R. Chao, viz., that the older compounds tend to have the stress accent on their former element, while the more modern show more often an even stress.

The syllables are differentiated not only by their consonants and vowels but also by their tones. As we have explained in the first chapter, each syllable has inherent in it a certain pitch or a certain inflection through a sequence of pitches, and the pitch and inflection are, except where the tonal system is degenerate, as in Northern Chinese of modern times, characteristic of that syllable whenever uttered, though the tone is in some dialects liable to be obscured when the syllable is deprived of stress accent, and in all dialects to pass into variant forms in 'tone-sandhi', when the syllable is combined in a phrase with others.

Many writers have written of the tones as if they were a device for the distinction of syllable-words otherwise identical in form. This, if it implies conscious purpose on the part of the speakers at any stage of the language, is intrinsically improbable; nature does not proceed

in its evolution by inventing new structures for new purposes, but by finding new uses for existing parts and specialising them in new circumstances. The view is not easily reconciled with the fact of the existence of the tones in the older stages of the language, when homophones were not conspicuously common, nor with their better preservation today just in those dialects where more distinct syllables exist and where the need of such a device is therefore less. It is at least equally likely that the existence of tonal distinctions (and of word combinations) rendered unnecessary a careful insistence on the remaining elements of the pronunciation, and thus, in a negative way contributed to the phonetic decay of the language: but this again is open to the same objection based on the parallelism in decay of the tonal system and of the other phonemes.

None of the theories so far put forward to explain the existence of the tones in Chinese and its related and contiguous languages has won general acceptance. The distinction of higher and lower tones is in some way connected with that of unvoiced and voiced initials, but it is uncertain whether this connection is purely physiological, or whether the unvoiced initials and the higher tones were concurrently caused by the former presence of prefixes, now lost, in earlier stages of the languages. This theory, put forward by Conrady, was criticised by Trombetti on the grounds that it implied the earlier existence of voiced initials only, which is very unlikely. This is, however, not a necessary implication, for a number of languages do not distinguish between voiced and voiceless in the same consonant, and the later distinction may well have come about in some such way as Conrady imagined. The question is far from being resolved, and it may be that the explanation lies outside the Sinitic languages altogether, and is to be sought in the history of other languages which have influenced their phonology.

Conrady has also called attention to the infrequency of interrogative particles in the pre-classical language, which therefore, if we assume tones to have been already fixed attributes of the words, had no means of distinguishing in speech between questions and statements. He goes on to explain the rising tone as in origin a question tone, and notes its common occurrence in phrases consisting of two words of opposite meaning which have come to be used as interrogatives; thus P. *-to* /ṣau, literally 'much-little', now the ordinary

phrase for 'how much?' The explanation is plausible, but further observations on other tonal languages must be undertaken before it can be accepted as a solution.

The Ancient language seems to have had six tones, viz., a level (39), P. *'p'iŋ -ʂəŋ*; a rising (40), P. */ɕiaŋ -ʂəŋ*; and a falling (41), P. *tɕ'y -ʂəŋ*), and each of these on two levels of the voice, so that we distinguish them as 'upper level', 'lower level', etc. The falling tone is commonly, following Chinese nomenclature, known as the 'departing' tone. To these six the Chinese and, following them, many European writers, add two 'entering tones' (ju-sheng) (42), P. *ʌʐ -ʂəŋ*, an upper and a lower. The term is applied to words which in the old language ended in an occlusive consonant, still pronounced in some modern dialects, but in others reduced to the glottal stop or entirely lost (as in Pekingese). Such words, when any vestige of a consonant remains, are characterised by an abruptness of ending. But abruptness of length is hardly a matter of tone in the strict sense of the term, which is best confined to difference of pitch and cadence. The expression 'ju-sheng', however, is a convenient one to use in referring to this class of words, and will be used in the following chapters.

Of the modern dialects, probably only Cantonese and Ningpo have fully retained the old system, and even in these dialects it is certain that many of the tones have changed their character, and doubtful whether any reproduce exactly the pitch and inflection of Ancient Chinese. The extreme of reduction is seen in modern Pekingese, which has no more than four distinct tones. Some Northern Chinese dialects, such as that of Nanking, still keep the ju-sheng apart from other tones, and therefore number five in all.

Chinese words being, as we have said, invariable in form, the verb is incapable of change to indicate person, number, tense or mood. The expression of the two former is left to the pronoun; but, as we shall see, even the pronoun is in most dialects suppressed whenever this can be done without ambiguity, and the same is true of the classical language; the dialects differ considerably between themselves regarding the extent to which the personal pronoun subject is used. The answer to a question may be, in Pekingese, (43), *pu* *ʂɪ*, '(I) don't know', and a third person repeating the answer might say: (44), *-t'a -ʃuo pu* *ʂɪ*, 'He says (he) doesn't know'; in neither case is the

subject of the verb \ʂɪ, 'know', expressed, as the sentence is perfectly intelligible without it.

The tense and mood, or the temporal relations and shades of affective meaning which in inflected languages are marked by verbal tenses and moods, are again either unexpressed and left to be gathered from the surrounding circumstances (including adverbs of time, etc.) or may be brought out by particles subjoined to the verb, many of these being still recognisable as auxiliary verbs with such meanings as 'finish', 'pass' (of past time), 'wish', 'need' (of the future; cf. the development of a periphrastic future in the Germanic languages). The time reference emerges from the context (in this case, temporal adverbs) in:

(45), P. /wɔ 'miŋ -tʻiɛn /ta-tʻa   I (shall) beat him tomorrow.

(46),   'tso-tʻiɛn /ta-tʻa   (I) beat him yesterday.

(47),   /i-tɕiŋ /ta /liao-tʻa   (I have) already beat(en) him.

If this absence of a regular expression of temporal relations seem a deficiency in Chinese, one has only to observe how seldom one is left in doubt whether such English verbs as 'beat', 'set', 'put', with no change of form to show past time, refer to the past, present or future. Chinese may, however, make use of auxiliaries to place the time of the action beyond doubt; the auxiliaries vary from dialect to dialect and are more frequently used in some dialects than in others:

(48), P. /wɔ\jau 'xuei-tɕia   I shall go home (lit. 'wish to').

(49), \tɕiɛn /liao -tʻa /liao   (I) saw him (/liao 'finish', the most frequent of the auxiliaries in northern dialects).

(50), /wɔ /ta kuo -tʻa /liao   I have beaten him (\kuo lit. 'pass').

For the greater insistence on the expression of tense in one dialect than in another, one may compare the form of the current greeting: 'Have you eaten rice?', which in Pekingese runs: (51), -tʂʻɪ liao\fan liao, lit. 'eat finish rice finish?', but in Cantonese: (52), _sik_faːn _meːi, lit. 'eat rice not-yet?'. In the latter case the word _meːi is deemed sufficient to indicate that past time is referred to, while Pekingese insists on the tense to the extent of repetition of the liao.

The earliest known method of expression of the passive function

of the verb appears to have been the use of an intransitive verb corresponding in meaning to the active as causative (e.g., 'die': 'kill'), linked to the agent noun by (53), P. *'ȷy*, 'at the hands of', as in *Mencius*, I, 5: (54), P. *-tuŋ \paɪ 'ȷy 'tɕ'i*, '(on the) east (we have been) defeated by Ch'i'. It was only a short step to the use of the active verb in the same construction, many Chinese verbs being in fact 'ambivalent', so that it is hard to determine whether the primary sense was active or passive. We find, in fact, continuing Mencius' sentence just quoted, the clause: (55), P. *'nan/ɹən'ȷy/tʂ'u*, '(in the) south (we are) disgraced by Ch'u', where */ɹu*, here used passively, has normally an active and transitive sense, 'to put to shame'. The vernaculars have since adopted a construction with verbs (56), P. */peɪ*, and (57), P. *\sou*, both in the sense of 'suffer, undergo'. First of all the verb was used nominally, as in (57) (337), P. *\sou\xaɪ*, 'to suffer injury', later the auxiliary was followed by a nominal clause, as (58), P. *\sou 'ɹən \xaɪ*, 'to suffer men to injure' > 'to be injured by people'. This is the normal expression of the passive in the modern vernaculars. But for the fact that the genitive particle is seldom inserted between the noun of the agent (*'ɹən*) and the following verb (*\xaɪ*) in such constructions, one might be induced to interpret 'to suffer men's injuries', as almost all Chinese verbs have also a substantival function.

The ambivalence of the Chinese verb is not without parallels in English, especially in our participles; cf. 'he is building a house' and the now obsolescent 'the house is building', and our two uses of words such as 'smell' and 'taste'. In Chinese, however, it extends to all parts of the verb, particularly in the infinitive sense; thus a Cantonese barber may say (59), *,ŋɔ -hœy`fe:i-fa:t*, 'I am going to cut hair'; but his customer may use the same words to mean that he intends to have his hair cut.

Before leaving our description of the Chinese verb, it is necessary to make mention of a prominent feature in what have been called 'continuative auxiliaries', which follow after the main verb of the sentence and replace our locative adverbs in the duty of making more precise the meaning of the verb. In the examples which follow it will be seen that most of these auxiliaries are accompanied by locative adverbs; but most adverbs were themselves originally verbs, so that there is actually no difference between such a phrase from the classi-

cal language as (60), P. *'ɕiŋ 'ɔɪ -tʂ'u*, 'he walked out', and the modern examples:

(61), P. *'xwei tau 'tʂ'wan ɕjaŋ \tʃ'y*   'Went back to the boat'.
(62), Amoy: *–lut 'loˁ 'k'i*   'Fell off', lit. 'fall down go'.
(63), C. *'tou 'ɕøi ‾tʂ'ut -hœy*   'Throw out the water'.
(64),   *,ŋɔ _wa ,ne:i \t'eŋ*   'I tell you (to hear)'.

The same use of continuative auxiliaries is regular in the Miao languages; cf. Mpo *'pi -ia 'ŋ tʃ'iɤ 'tɔ 'ŋ*, 'where is he going to go?' where the repeated *'ŋ*, lit. 'go', gives the force of 'away, depart'.

The noun is not accompanied ordinarily by any denotation of number; grammatical gender is quite unknown in Chinese; and the grammatical relations shown in inflected languages by declension are here denoted, when they are not simply to be gathered from the position of the noun in the clause, by prepositions and postpositions.

These statements apply with equal force to the pronoun, which is here treated for the sake of convenience; but in the case of the personal pronoun the expression of number is somewhat more frequent, though unequally so as between the dialects. It is one of the more notable features of Chinese that it is the most fundamental words of the language (and this includes the pronouns themselves together with the grammatical particles expressive of number and case), which differ almost completely from dialect to dialect. For the first person all dialects use some phonetic variation of the old Chinese objective (65), P. */wɔ*, the old nominative (66), P. *'wu*, having seemingly everywhere vanished; (67), P. */ni*, or a derivative, is used everywhere for the second person: but in the third person the greatest variety prevails, (68), P. *-t'a*, being the accepted form in the north, (69), C. *,k'œy*, in the southern part of the Yangtsze valley, in Hakka, Cantonese, and, if we can be sure of the identification, in northern Min, while the Wu dialects and southern Min hold to (70), P. *-i*. Northern Chinese, in the pronoun as in the substantive, expresses number more regularly than does Cantonese or Hakka, using for this purpose a suffix (71), P. */mən*, as against C. (72), *_te:i*. In Cantonese colloquial this latter suffix is hardly added to a noun except to (73), C. *,jan*, 'man', when this word has a quasi-pronominal force, equivalent to French *on* and German *man*. Pekingese uses the plural suffix more freely. Southern Min exceeds all other dialects in its insistence

on number in pronouns, using for this purpose a non-syllabic suffix *-n*, of unknown derivation; e.g. ⁻*i*, 'he, she, it', ⁻*in* 'they'. For another device used in Northern Chinese to indicate plurality in nouns, see hereunder in the section dealing with the articles.

It is difficult to reduce to rule the insertion or omission of the genitive particle between the governed and the governing nouns; from the most ancient literature onwards we find such phrases as (74), P. *-t'iɛn\miŋ* and (75), P. *-t'iɛn -tʂɪ\miŋ*, 'the decrees of Heaven', used side by side with no obvious distinction in meaning; and the same is true regarding the corresponding particles in the modern dialects, however much these vary from place to place. All such particles—the classical *-tʂɪ*, Pekingese *ti*, and Cantonese *-kɛ*, etc., are probably reducible to a demonstrative or pronominal origin. In modern vernaculars the presence or absence of the genitive sign appears to depend to some extent on the rhythm of the phrase; its use seems to be more regularly demanded when the governed noun is accompanied by a classifier than when it is used singly, and then may serve (as do the demonstrative and classifier with the governed noun) to define the governing noun more precisely. In such a case the genitive particle, as might be expected in a word once a demonstrative, acts somewhat as a definite article: contrast, e.g., (76), P. *'ɪən /ʂou*, 'a man's hand', in the most general meaning possible, with (77), *\tɕɔ kɔ 'ɪən ti/ʂou*, 'this man's hand', an individual of the species.

The view here taken, viz., that the genitive particles were in origin or formerly demonstrative pronouns, is not quite incompatible with that set forth by Purcell (with the agreement of Duyvendak), in his *Problems of Chinese Education*, where its primary signification is given as 'go to, reach', whence 'direction', and then 'direction of thought', i.e., 'yonder'. The facility with which the verb and adjective merge their meanings in Chinese makes natural the series of meanings: 'go house' > 'the house to which one goes' > 'yonder house'. The whole study of the particle (78), P. *-tʂɪ*, given in Purcell's book is worthy of note. It is probable that the Cantonese genitive particle *-kɛ*, the personal pronoun *ˌk'œy*, 'he', are similarly related between themselves, and both to the classifier (79), P. *-kɔ*, which again, in a modified tone, assumes the function of a demonstrative in Cantonese.

Not only the noun but also the pronoun is quite without gender in

Chinese; 'he' and 'she' cannot be distinguished in speech, and the modern fashion of writing (80), (with the same pronunciation) for (68), P. -*t'a*, when it means a female person, and even (81), for 'it', i.e., of using a specifically feminine and neuter radical respectively, is not a natural development of the language, does not appreciably add to ease of reading, and would only help to detach the new written style from the colloquial. As in English, when it is required for the sense that the sex of the person or animal spoken of be specified, this is effected by adding a word (e.g. (82), P. *'nan*, 'male', or (83), P. */ny/*, 'female', in the case of human beings; (84), P. -*kuŋ*, 'male', and (85), P. */mu/*, 'female', with variants, in the case of other animals).

There is no word in either the Ancient or the Modern language specifically describable as either a definite or indefinite article, but the Modern language supplies the places by a more liberal use than is usual of the demonstrative adjective and of the first cardinal numeral respectively, saying, e.g., in the latter case, 'one man', where English would generally be content with 'a man'. Sometimes also the appropriate classifier without the numeral is sufficient to give the meaning of our indefinite article, as in (86), P. -*tsu -tɕiɛn 'faŋ*, 'to rent a room'. Both the northern language and, in a minor degree, Cantonese have contrived to express the plural number in conjunction with the definite article, the former by the use of (87), P. -*ɕiɛ*, 'several', as in (88), *tɕə ɕiɛ 'ɹən*, 'these men'; the latter by the use of the word (C.) ⁻*ti* (which is probably not akin to P. *ti*, but an atonic form of _*te:i*, used for the plural of pronouns in Cantonese), as in (89), C. *'kɔ* ⁻*ti* ˏ*jan*, those men'. It will be observed that in these phrases the classifier is omitted.

The adjective in Chinese is in no way remarkable except for the peculiarities which ensue from the flexionless type of the language. There are, for this reason, no degrees of comparison indicated, and the absolute and relative superlatives are not distinguished, both being expressed by the positive form preceded by such words as (90), P. *tɕɪ*, 'to reach'; (91), P. *tsuei*; (92), P. *'tɕi*, 'tip', all translatable in this context as 'extremely'. Comparison of superiority is effected by the use of a formula like 'great compared (with) me', (93), P. */pi/* */wɔ/* *ta*. Cantonese stands apart from the other dialects by preferring a formula involving an expression 'exceeding'; 'greater than I' in Cantonese is therefore (94), _*ta:i -kwɔ* ˏ*ŋɔ*, 'great surpass me'.

The comparison of equality has different formulas in the diffeɪent dialects; in Pekingese 'he is as big as you' is: (95), *-t'a /ju /ni[]i \jaŋ \ta,* 'he has (or 'follows') you one-kind (i.e. the same) big'; in Cantonese: *ˌk'œy ‿hai ˌneːi -kʋm ‿taːi,* 'he is you so big'.

The adjective serves also as adverb without change of form, as (96), P. *\k'uai -tʂ'ə,* 'a fast train'; (534), *\k'uai /tsou,* 'go off quickly'.

The adjective in Chinese is probably of verbal origin, so that, e.g., (97), P. *\ɪə,* is not so much 'hot', as 'to be hot'; and, with the ambivalence of the Chinese verb as we have described it above, it may also mean 'to make hot', and is frequently so used. The causative use of the adjective is very common in the classical works, but in accordance with the general trend of the language towards more explicit expression even at the cost of addition of syllables, it is more usual to show transitive force by the addition of such a word as (98), P. */tʂəŋ,* 'render', before the adjective. The verbal origin of the adjective agrees well with the demonstrative origin of the copula and its less frequent use as compared with most European languages; it becomes, strictly, otiose if the notion of action is inherent in the adjective itself.

Although we have indications that Chinese once had, at a time earlier than the earliest records, some method of word-formation, probably by the addition of prefixes or suffixes now worn away, no such method survived into historic times. The word (99), P. *-tʂən,* means 'true'; but no abstract word can be found from it; to express our idea of 'truth' we must add another word according to the precise meaning. Thus, 'tell the truth' is (100), P. */tɕiaŋ -tʂən \xua,* lit., 'say true words'; and 'truth' in the sense of 'sincerity' is (101), P. *-tʂən -ɕin,* lit. 'true heart'. We deduce the former existence of a process of word-formation from the existence of groups of words of somewhat similar form and semantically related; but no vestige of such processes remains as a living device in the modern language or even in our oldest records. Even the extent to which a given part of speech may be applied to uses beyond its proper function is closely circumscribed by the precedents of the older language. In the modern colloquials examples of the use of verbal words in substantival senses or vice versa are rather rare, if abstraction be made of set phrases taken over as a whole from the literary language. One of the few instances is that of (102), P. *-an,* originally, it seems, 'at peace, com-

fortable', and so commonly applied; but employed also in the sense
of '(to set at rest >) to place', as in P. (103), *-an \tsai /na li*, 'where
(did you) put (it)?'

The normal order of words in the sentence has remained unchanged
from the earliest Chinese down to the present day: subject—verb—
object. But the order is frequently changed, for the sake of giving
prominence to the predicative part, in which case the affective result
is the same as in English which uses the same licence. Thus, besides
the normal order: (104), P. *\tʂə kə 'ɹen /xən /xau*, 'this man is very
good', it is common to hear: *\xən /xau \tʂə kə 'ɹən*, lit. 'very good this
man'. The inversion is in common use from Archaic Chinese times
onwards: Mencius has: (105), P. *\ʂan -tsai \wən /jɛ*, 'An excellent
question!' (\ʂan, though it precedes the noun is to be understood
predicatively rather than attributively. It is to be noted in the
Pekingese examples that, whereas when the regular word order is
used the insertion of the copula, (106), P. *\ʂɪ*, is optional, it can never
be used in the inverted order.

Two further cases of transposition of the verb and its object must
now be noticed. In the classical language of the Archaic period (but
not later), the pronominal object of a negative verb regularly pre-
cedes the verb; e.g., *Mencius*, 7b, 23: *mo -tsɪ /kan -jiŋ* (546), 'did not
dare to attack him', literally 'not him dare attack'. And the reflexive
pronoun *\tsɪ*, 'oneself', etc., invariably occupies that position, as
in *\tsɪ \tsɪn*, 'to finish oneself', i.e., commit suicide (547).

The order is also varied, when the predicate is the direct object of a
transitive verb, by anticipation of the verb with the aid of the word
(107), P. *-tɕiaŋ*, 'take' or by various equivalents in the several
dialects. This construction is most commonly met with when the
predicative part of the sentence is somewhat complicated, or consists
of several words; so—

'I shall tell you his reason', (108), P. */wɔ /pa -t'a ti\i sɤ \kau su /ni*,
lit. 'I take his reason inform you';

'He threw out the water', C. (109), *,k'œy 'tʂœŋ 'ʂœy 'tou ⁻tʂ'ut
-hœy*.

The qualifying word or phrase regularly precedes the determined,
whether the latter be substantive or verb, and this rule is rigid
enough to allow no exceptions even in the case of complex adjectival
or adverbial phrases, e.g., in Pekingese:

'The book on the table in the study', (110), -ʂu 'faŋ \nei -tʂo tsɤ \ɕjaŋ /na /pən -ʂu.

'I go there every Friday', (111), /wɔ /mei -siŋ 'tɕ'i /wu tʂɪ /na ʌ\tɕ'y.

There are apparent exceptions in the case of the word (28), P. tsɤ, 'son', and its dialectal counterparts when used as diminutive affixes, as (112), P. /kou tsɤ, lit. 'dog child', hence 'little dog'; and, by extension, (113), ⁻ʂu tsɤ, 'little book', and other cases, particularly with (29), ɹ, as in P. (114), 'mɔɹ, 'door' where all diminutive sense has been lost. But it is possible in such cases to interpret the noun preceding tsɤ, etc., as a genitive; /kou tsɤ is thus rather 'dog's child' > 'pup'. Less easy of explanation is the frequent postposition of the numeral, with its classifier, in the classical literary language, as: (115), P. /tsɤ /ny -san 'miŋ, lit. 'son daughter three name', i.e., 'three children', where modern Pekingese, in common with all other dialects, would prefer the regular order: (116), -san kə 'xai tsɤ.

The genitive like the adjective precedes the governing noun, and is often connected therewith by a particle, for which see the earlier part of this chapter. The same particle often appears between the attributive adjective and its noun, as: (117), P. -i -fəŋ \jau /tɕin ti \ɕin, 'an important letter'. This is conformable with the practice in Tibetan, where the adjective appears in the genitive when it precedes the substantive, but not when it follows.

The use of the relative is commonly avoided by employing what, in the light of Tibetan, we may regard as a participial construction, although in Chinese there is, of course, nothing to distinguish a participle from any other part of the verb: so the example given earlier might serve also to translate 'the book which is on the table', etc., and 'the things which he sells' becomes 'he sells the things', (118), -t'a \mai ti -tuŋ -ɕi, or 'he sells those things', (119), P. -t'a \mai /na ɕiɛ -tuŋ ⁻ɕi (where the equivalence of the 'genitive particle' with the demonstrative appears plainly).

The language possesses, however, a genuine relative pronoun in the word (120), P. /so. The bridge from what appears to have been its primary signification, 'place', to the relative use may perhaps be seen in such phrases as the Archaic (121), P. /wu /so pu /i, which might be translated either as 'in no place will he not fall short', or 'there is not anything (in which he will) not fall short'. But it must be admitted

that the link is somewhat tenuous (though not to the extent of excluding the likelihood of such a development), and it may be that we have here a development where two originally unconnected words share one written form. The word /so is always used objectively to the verb which follows, and has a vaguer sense than our relative pronouns, being better translated as 'whatever', or 'all that which': (122), P. *'ɹɔn 'ɹɔn* /so \ai, 'what everyone likes'; (123), P. -*t'a* /so /tɕiaŋ ti \xua, 'the words which he speaks'. The use of /so is less favoured in the colloquial than that of the 'participial construction'.

We have already (Chapter I) described the classifier, determinant, or numeral adjunct, as this part of speech is variously termed, and have stated that, absent or doubtful in the oldest Chinese known to us and right through the Archaic Period, its use has become so regular in the modern dialects that, apart from a few nouns denoting quantity or periods of time, no numeral or demonstrative can be applied to a noun without its intervention. It is difficult to draw the line between classifiers and nouns of quantity; such English expressions as 'head of cattle' and 'rounds of ammunition' are the nearest equivalents in our language to the Chinese words. In addition to its obligatory use with numerals and demonstratives, and with a few isolated words like (124), /mei, 'every' (but not (125), \ko, of the same meaning), (126), /tɕi, 'several', each classifier is capable of representing the indefinite article, or the numeral 'one' in an unemphatic sense, as in (127), P. /mai tʂɿ-tɕi, 'to buy a fowl'; (128), P. -tsu tɕiɛn 'faŋ tsɤ, 'to rent a room', tʂɿ and tɕiɛn being the classifiers for words denoting lower animals and buildings respectively.

A marked trait of the language throughout its history, and one which it shares not only with Tibetan but also with the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) family, is the dearth of a special class of words to express the relations denoted by prepositions in the Indo-European family. The place of such words is taken in Chinese by verbs before the substantive, or by nouns, or nominal compounds, following it. In the latter case it seems that we must understand the postposition as a noun governing the preceding noun in the genitive, so that (129), P. /xai -tsuŋ, freely translated as 'in the sea', will mean literally 'the midst of the sea'; in such cases the genitive particle, (78), P. tʂɿ, etc., according to dialect, sometimes appears. A large number of the former class, that is, the prepositions in the strict sense, are still

current in most dialects with their original verbal force; such are (130), P. *tu*, 'enter' > 'into'; (131), P. *juŋ*, 'use' > 'with (of the instrument)'; (535) P. *tau*, 'arrive at' > 'until'. In a few cases the verbal use of the word is less evident; the word (53), P. *-jy*, of Archaic and classical Chinese, with a very vague local sense ('in', 'into', 'at', 'upon') and a still vaguer transferred sense ('as regards', etc.) is found in the oldest language with the meaning of 'to go to', as in the *Shi-Ching* line: (132), P. *-tṣɪ* /*tsɤ* '*jy -kuei*, 'this maid goes to (her new) home'. Of other words used prepositionally in the Archaic language (133, P. /*jy*, also meaning 'give to'), and of some in use in the modern vernaculars (e.g., (134), C. '*hai*, 'at, in, from') it is not possible to be so positive; but on the analogy of the cases quoted one reasonably looks for a verbal derivation.

The postpositions are used either with or without the addition of the verbal forms just described. All of them,—(135), P. *-tɕiɛn*, 'in' (136), P. *wai*, 'outside'; (137), P. *nei*, 'within'; (138), P. *miɛn*, 'on top of', etc., have retained their original sense as substantives in addition to assuming the function of rendering more precise the application of the verbal preposition. In the *Shu-Ching* ('Book of History') we find both (139), P. *-t'iɛn -tṣɪ* *ɕia*, and (140), *-t'iɛn* *ɕia* for 'under the sky' the former containing the genitive particle uniting the two nouns; and the modern language can use the more precise expression: (141), P. '*tsai -tṣo ti* *ɕia*, lit. 'remaining table botton under' for 'below the table'.

The same method of supplying the lack of prepositions is found also in the Mon-Khmer languages, as in Palaung *ra-la:ŋ jɔ:m so:r*, lit., 'runs follow hill' for 'runs along the hill'; and in Tibetan, *tf'u k'ar*, lit. 'water-on-the-face', i.e. 'on the surface of the water' (*-r* being the locative suffix).

In many cases, although the sense of a passage may be perfectly intelligible, the relationship of the words to each other and to the sentence as a whole is by no means clear, and much further analytical work remains to be done before Chinese sentence construction can be said to be completely understood. A recent contribution to this side of Chinese grammar is due to Mullie; dealing with such a sentence as P. *-t'a* /*lien 'p'i tsɪ* *xou*, (lit. 'he face-skin thick', i.e., 'he is impudent'), Mullie points out in the first place that, since the adjective *xou* cannot be applied to a person, the phrase cannot be translated

literally as 'he is thick (in respect of) his face-skin'; nor again, since the negative of such a sentence would employ the particle P. *pu*, 'not', rather than *mi /jou*, 'has not', is it legitimate to take *-t'a* as a genitive and so translate: 'his face-skin'. How then are we to understand the construction? Mullie introduces the useful concept of a predicate in such sentences which is itself a complete sentence, and would understand the sentence as 'He is face-skin-is-thick'. Not only does this concept serve to explain the anomalous position of the adjective in such common phrases as P. */ɣ 'luŋ* (27), lit. 'ear-deaf', i.e. 'deaf', but also brings the Chinese sentence construction somewhat nearer to the peculiar 'impersonal' construction in Tibetan.

There are probably few points in connection with the Chinese language on which agreement among scholars is further from attainment than the character of its vocabulary: some writers have ventured to draw very far-reaching conclusions as to the capabilities of the language and the mental processes of the people from an examination of the methods used by the Chinese to denote qualities and aggregates, and this question is deserving of examination here.

Sten Konow (*Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. III, Introduction) says that in the Tibeto-Burman dialects 'we often find that the different varieties of some particular animal are denoted by different terms, where we should use the same word . . . There is a tendency to coin a separate word for every individual concrete conception. This peculiarity is shared by most languages in a primitive stage of civilisation, and they are (*sic*) by no means peculiar to the Tibeto-Burman or even to the Indo-Chinese forms of speech . . . Most Tibeto-Burman languages further evince a difficulty in forming words for abstract ideas . . . We know from Chinese, and partly also from Tibetan, that such languages are quite able to form expressions for the most subtle niceties of human thought.' Purcell quotes, apparently with approval, Duyvendak's words: 'As a type of language, Chinese shows remarkable likeness to certain "primitive languages".' It does not summarise, it does not analyse, but it sees all things apart in never-ending variety. It accumulates one concrete simple image after another in the order in which they occur to the mind. It does not easily form comprehensive perceptions. To express these ideas it has to form compounds.'

It is true that Chinese cannot express simply and precisely certain

very simple ideas; thus, as Purcell quotes, it has no word for 'orange', but one for the 'thin-skinned orange', one for the 'orange with thick, loose skin'; one for a kind of small tangerine; a basket, according to the precise type, is (142), P. *'lan*; (140), P. *li*, (144), P. *'lo*, etc., and 'carry' is (145), *-tan*, (146), *'t'o*, (147), /*t'ai*, (148), *pau*, according as one means 'to carry on a pole', 'on the shoulders', 'between two men', or 'in the arms, as one does a child'.

But such statements, because they are one-sided, give a false impression of a contrast between Chinese and occidental languages. To make the picture complete we must place on the other side cases in which Chinese responds by one general, or generalised, word to the greater particularity of European languages. Thus, where we use the words 'table', 'desk', 'sideboard', 'counter', and other European languages add still other refinements, such as the French 'console', Chinese uses its word (149), P. *-tṣo*, or (150), P. *'t'ai* (according to dialect) with the addition of descriptive words; a 'desk' being a 'write-words-table', and so on, if greater precision is required. English must have independent words for its sports such as 'golf', 'football', 'tennis', 'billiards'; here again Chinese is more analytic, describing them as 'hill-ball', 'kick-ball', 'net-ball', and 'table-ball'. Instances might be multiplied on either side, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that generalisations hitherto current have been often somewhat hasty.

To explain the contradiction it is sufficient to observe how each people forms more particular words for the matters which concern it most closely. To the townsman all bovine animals are cows, irrespective of age or sex; but that generality is insufficient for the linguistic needs of the farmer; the receptacle used by the angler for his catch is correctly denominated a basket, but he prefers to particularise it as a creel. We have separate names for the male and female of domestic animals and some others, because the sex is, or has been, of consequence in our economy; but wild beasts, with few exceptions, are not so distinguished. Just as the Chinese have words for growing rice, rice grain, husked rice, cooked rice, but no general term for the substance apart from its accidents, so the Swahili, to whom the coconut is of great importance, have terms for the nut in each stage of its growth, but hardly an undifferentiated word for coconut. So, too, pre-classical Chinese has a rich vocabulary of words to designate

horses of different colours and markings—so rich, in fact, that it has been surmised that these words, all of which are lost even to the literary vocabulary of modern times with the decay of interest in the subject of horses, represent a survival from a pre-agricultural, pastoral stage of Chinese culture, for which there is otherwise little evidence. The vocabulary of a language is, in short, relevant to the interests of its speakers from time to time. Chinese was well adapted in this respect to the culture of the country a century ago, and is in the process of creating the vocabulary requisite to the host of new notions brought to it by western science.

Chinese is not, and never has been, so far as our knowledge reaches, without the machinery for composing new terms and especially general terms which will embrace and override the particular concepts used in everyday life. We have already mentioned the example of the word for 'animal', formed by setting together the words for 'bird', and 'beast', and in this case the generality of the meaning has probably been aided by the obsolescence of each of its halves in the colloquial speech. Already in Germanic times we could ascend from the particularities of 'ox' and 'sheep' to various general terms, for which our present 'cattle' was a rather unnecessary substitution; if we would generalise further, we are driven to such conscious importations as 'bovine animals', 'ruminants', etc. German in such cases prefers as a rule the method of composition, to a great extent lost in English; but composition is the method natural to Chinese, although the script does not allow the new word to form a unity to the eye. The word (151), P. \lei, is already used in Mencius in application to zoological species or genera, and the step from the statement that dogs and horses are not of the same lei to the use of (152), P. /tɕ'yan lei, 'the dog-kind', where English might in scientific literature talk of 'canidae', is a short one, and has been very naturally taken, and hardly artificially, since (153), P. 'ɹən \lei, 'man-kind', was already good colloquial Chinese before the language set itself to reproduce modern scientific conceptions.

It is, I believe, a mistaken notion that differences of mentality can be deduced from differences in morphological form, syntax, or vocabulary. The last is certainly linked with the cultural stage and social interests of the speakers of the language; but it is the speakers who create the language in answer to their needs and develop new ex-

pressions as the occasions arise. Individual speakers change from one language which, like Chinese, places its determining words before the determined, to one, like French, which reverses the order, and without any consciousness of thinking differently when using the two vehicles for their thought. The principles of traffic safety are not essentially different in countries which drive to the right and in those which keep to the left; but it is essential that all drivers observe whatever convention is in use. It is just as idle to infer from peculiarities of Chinese vocabulary or word order a fundamental difference in that people's attitude to the external world as it would be to explain the various conventions of traffic control in the same way.

The truth of this view will be apparent if we compare the spoken Chinese of today with its forms in the mouths of the more educated speakers at the beginning of the present century. It then resembled the other languages spoken by civilised peoples of the Sinitic group in having a well-developed system of ceremonial language used in addressing, or in referring to, persons whose station demanded high respect. Remnants of this may still be seen in the language of petitions, just as the English petitioner signs himself a humble and obedient servant. But the system has been almost completely swept away with the passing of the Empire; possibly the last remnant in any real sense colloquial is the use in Pekingese of (154), /nin, as a more respectful form of the second person pronoun than (155), /ni. Even in imperial times Chinese seems never to have elaborated so complete a parallel vocabulary of 'honorific' reference to the actions and belongings of men in high station as we find in Tibetan; nor were the alternative forms of personal pronouns so much insisted upon as in the present T'ai languages or in Annamese or Burmese. The death of an emperor was referred to as (156), P. -pəŋ, instead of by the words (157), /sɤ, or (158), \kuo -ṣən, 'to pass over to another body', applied to ordinary mortals; in the earliest times we find also a third word, (159), P. -xuŋ, applied to the death of a feudal prince.

Considering the Chinese usages in the matter of vocabulary sixty years ago one might nevertheless have concluded that it was the language of a people fundamentally ceremonious. Today all this is altered; the people has adjusted itself to a new social order, and the vocabulary responds to the change by shedding refinements no

longer applicable to the circumstances of the speakers. And yet we can hardly believe that there has been a great change in national character in one generation. Rather we see a change in mode only, something much less fundamental, the expression of a new political form rather than of a new national ethos.

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RELATED AND CONTIGUOUS LANGUAGES

Before we proceed to consider Chinese as it appears in each of the periods into which its history has been divided, it is necessary that the reader should have a slight sketch of three groups of languages. The first, Tibetan, because of its etymological relation with Chinese; the Miao dialects, because their speakers are the only representatives of the pre-Chinese of north China whose language has survived to our times; and the T'ai group, for reasons of both kinds, because the language has been believed by some scholars to be related to Chinese, and because it preceded Chinese in much of southern China.

Although history in a strict sense cannot be said to begin till much later, we may perhaps see reliable traditions in the accounts preserved of the Hsia dynasty. What kernel of truth may lie in the legends of still earlier times, those of the mythological 'Five Rulers', we shall probably never know. In any case, there is good reason to believe that much early tradition has been edited, probably many times, to bring the actions of the heroes into conformity with later standards of behaviour. The date, 2205 B.C., calculated from Chinese tradition for the beginning of the Hsia agrees tolerably well with that assigned by archaeologists for the appearance of a chalcolithic culture in that part of north-west China—Honan, with the adjacent parts of Kansuh, Shensi and Shansi—which remained through ancient times the centre of Chinese civilisation. The region seems to have lain in still earlier (neolithic) times on a busy trade route, along which passed—but in which direction is still unsettled—the knowledge of the art of painting pottery. It may well be that the prosperity thus acquired led to an earlier cultural development of this area, and possibly also to its invasion by a people akin to the Tibetans, who brought into China the language now known in its later phases as Chinese.

The Chinese have no tradition of an immigration of the people from elsewhere, at this or at any other period, and if the new culture was introduced by a new people, they probably constituted, as did the ruling classes of the two following dynasties, a small aristocracy.

The case is curiously like that of the Athenian people, who were undoubtedly Greek in language, and therefore derived their language from a governing class immigrant from the north, and who yet prided themselves on being autochthonous.

The language of the Hsia period is a matter of surmise, for we have no remains to guide us. The case is otherwise with the succeeding dynasty, the Shang or Yin (traditionally 1766–1154 B.C.). The study of the 'oracle-bones' unearthed in Honan in the early years of this century has led recent scholars to regard with more respect than they were once wont to do the Chinese records of the earlier dynasties, which these finds confirm in a number of particulars. From the Shang times we have a number of material remains definitely assignable to that dynasty; of these the most important for our purposes are the earliest specimens of Chinese writing. The centre of the Chinese confederation remained in northern Honan; its 'empire', which vaguely extended over the adjoining provinces, eastward to the sea at the Gulf of Pechili, and southwards to the watershed between the Yellow River and the Yangtsze, was a loosely agglomerated region from which tribute might be exacted when the rulers were strong enough to do so.

Language is assuredly no test of race, nor does the converse hold good; nevertheless, if ethnographic investigation of the Chinese people and its neighbours were more advanced than it is we might have a useful pointer to guide us in finding its place of origin and the exterior linguistic influences which have affected its development. The ethnic composition of the northern Chinese has altered little, apparently, since neolithic times, and there is nothing to support a hypothesis of extensive immigration since that period. Dudley Buxton will not commit himself further than to say that the Chinese people is of relatively uniform type, but that the north appears to contain a taller element in its composition, comparable with a racial type which we find again in the province of Khams in western Tibet, whence also it may be derived, unless both regions drew this element from a common source. He emphasises that the racial frontier between the northern and southern types of Chinese is difficult to draw, but places it roughly along the watershed between the Yellow River and the Yangtsze. (The vagueness of the boundary will not surprise us, when we consider how completely all racial distinction between

north and south has disappeared, no bar to intermarriage having existed at least since Chou times). Other ethnic groups have doubtless contributed to the population, but they cannot yet be isolated, and the only other bodily trait which seems to divide the two regions is the comparatively broad nose of the southerner. The Mongols, who are generally shorter than the northern Chinese, do not seem to have affected the constitution of the people to any considerable extent. They were probably never very numerous in China; except when they ruled as overlords, an alien population, they appear always to have preferred, or to have been forced by the physical features of their country to adopt, the life of herdsmen rather than agriculture, and would not therefore be likely to form a thickly settled community in any area.

The earliest specimens of writing, as we have seen, are dated with some doubt to the twentieth century B.C. They consist in the first place of dedicatory inscriptions on bronze vessels, of which we reproduce, in modern script, an example of considerably later date (Appendix III, no. 5). The inscriptions show a marked tendency towards a stereotyped phrasing, which betokens a long antecedent period during which writing was practised, at least by a class of scribes. We shall see in the next chapter what data regarding the language of the time can be found in these monuments.

The Chinese were at this time in contact along their northern and north-western borders, in northern Shensi and Shansi, with peoples vaguely termed Tartar or Tungus, and still more vaguely recorded by the Chinese as Ti (160). On the west were the Jung, who also bounded the Chinese settlements southwards and occupied islands of hilly and marshy land in the middle of the Chinese territory. The Jung may be identical with the Miao of later times: the Ti are more likely to have been Altaic in language. They were hunters and herdsmen rather than husbandmen, and both ways of life imply a relatively sparse population, unlikely to have influenced the nascent Chinese language except in the superficial matter of loans of vocabulary. Much the same may be said of the Koreans, except that these people are more than a mere name to us. China overran part of Korea not later than early Han times (second century B.C.), and the Koreans were not nomads but agriculturalists, and probably therefore thickly settled. But we know of no adoption of the Chinese language on a large scale in that

region, and direct Chinese rule, as opposed to mere suzerainty, was evanescent; Chinese profoundly influenced the indigenous speech, but the contrary action is not proved and is inherently improbable, though not utterly impossible.

We need not spend time over the other aboriginal races which bordered the Chinese Empire in Shang and early Chou times. Such names as I (161), Man (162), etc.,—we read, for instance, in the *Shu Ching* of the 'nine I and eight Man'—by which the Chinese indicate these peoples are so often applied geographically and schematically rather than with any clear ethnic or linguistic connotation, and are accompanied with so little description of the peoples themselves, that it is impossible, or highly hazardous, to identify them with any of the existing races of aborigines. It is otherwise, however, in the case of an aboriginal population which, then or later, lived probably in a state of villeinage, in the interior of the Chinese area, later to be absorbed into the community of Chinese speakers. Such a people, by the intimacy of its relations with the speakers of the dominant language, is much more likely to influence its development than are tribes whose relations with the speakers of the language were always external and generally hostile, and who were eventually expelled or exterminated. It is clear at least that in the earliest period of which we have knowledge the Chinese states did not occupy a compact territory. Their expansion seems to have taken the line of the cultivable ground in the river valleys, leaving the rest to the aborigines. At a later period, but still before the end of the Chou dynasty, we have frequent records of intermarriage between the ruling houses of the feudal states and the Ti or Jung within their spheres of influence; and the barbarians were gradually assimilated to their rulers. It is on record, for instance, that a revolt took place in 478 B.C., in the 'town of the Jung' in Honan, because its inhabitants were scorned by their suzerain as 'barbarians', while they already claimed to be recognised as Chinese.

Eberhard, speaking of the barbarians who were responsible for some seventy attacks on the inner Chinese area as recorded by Confucius and his disciple Tso, says: 'It has been mostly assumed hitherto that these barbarians invaded China from without. In that case they would have been able to make incursions into the border states only, or, if they pushed into the central states, then they must first have

overrun the border states. But when we look into the *Ch'un Ch'iu* for the place of their attack, we see that very often the central states are mentioned . . . It is not recorded that the border states were first attacked; on the contrary, for instance, when in the eleventh year of Hsi Kung the Jung stormed the capital of Chou, the states of Chin and Ch'in, to the north and north-west, came to the rescue . . . Moreover, it is said that among the barbarian tribes which made this attack were the barbarians of I and Lo; I and Lo are two tributaries of the Yellow River in Honan, and therefore in the very heart of the Chinese cultural centre!'

The Chou state was more closely knit than its predecessors: to a loosely dependent 'sphere of influence' succeeded, with the coming of the Chous, a feudal monarchy, which extended at the expense of the barbarians to the east and south much as did the Normans at the expense of Welsh and Irish. The Chinese did not take possession of a tenantless country, nor did they extirpate or expel its inhabitants; noble adventurers succeeded in acquiring possession of barbarian territory which they ruled, with more or less perfunctory acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Chou king. It is from this period that we must derive the expression 'middle kingdom' (P. $--t\underline{s}u\eta$ $'kuo$), (163), applied first to the imperial domain along the river Lo in Honan. Its later extension to cover the whole area subject to Chinese, when the country became even more highly centralised, was therefore no mere naïve egocentricity on the part of its inventors.

There is, further, evidence that even at a comparatively late date the aristocratic part of the population of ancient China was of different origin from the plebeians. The term (164), P. *'min*, 'people', seems to have been applied chiefly to these latter, while the aristocracy were the 'hundred surnames' (or 'kinships'), (165), P. $\backslash p\vartheta \backslash \varphi i\eta$; the two terms have long since come to be used indiscriminately, with the disappearance of the social distinction. The plebeians had customs so far removed from those of their overlords as to make the hypothesis of racially distinct origin likely, even apart from other evidence: they seem to have had a matriarchal social organisation, as the Miao must once have had, and we probably see traces of this in the language of the latter people, which uniformly names the female before the male in such expressions as */na 'tsi*, lit. 'mother-father' = 'parents'; contrast the Chinese $\backslash fu$ */mu*, (166), where the order is re-

versed. (Granet prefers to believe that the Chinese themselves were basically matriarchal, and that this social organisation was modified by various expedients in quasi-historical times. It is at least equally likely that the adoption of the patriarchal system, with various apparent reconciliations of the older system, represents the fusion of two originally separate communities.) The subject people, serfs bound to the soil, had no concern with the sacrificial ceremonies of their masters. It must be added, however, that the majority of recent archaeologists are opposed to the notion of a racial difference between aristocracy and plebeians in the period with which we are dealing; and it may well be that the incorporation of a large subject population into the Chinese people dates, as Lo Hsiang-lin believes, from a much later time, that of the Ch'in and early Han dynasties, towards the beginning of the second pre-Christian century.

These pre-Chinese peoples were later sinicised, and when this took place the Chinese people was no longer the same in ethnic composition, and the barbarians had their share in the formation of the modern Chinese language. That they contributed powerfully to the composition of the Chinese people as it now exists is no mere *a priori* conclusion on general grounds. Many writers, among them Davies, have commented on the physical resemblance between the T'ai peoples and the Cantonese, the latter being more like T'ais in appearance than they are to their own fellow-countrymen of the north. And the coincidences extend beyond physical traits to minor points of custom and manners. Diguet remarks regarding the hill tribes of Annam, relatively recent immigrants from China: 'Even their ways of carrying loads and children are characteristic of each of them. So the Annamese carries his load on his shoulder at the ends of a bamboo. The Annamese woman carries her child astride on her hip. The T'ai carries his load like the Annamese, but his wife has a different way of holding her child; the latter is astride on her waist, its buttocks supported by a piece of cloth knotted at the neck and at the waist, allowing the baby's legs to protrude on each side. The Man Yao carries his load in a creel . . . attached to his shoulders by two straps; his wife has her child tied to her back like the T'ai woman. The Miao carries his load like the Man.' The methods of carrying burdens and infants here described as characteristic of the T'ai are exactly those in use among the people of Kwangtung, while, as re-

gards the carrying of infants at least, they differ from those general in most of north China; the women of Peking carry their children in a way ascribed by Diguet to the Annamese. The distinction between north and south China in the matter of the carrying-pole is less clear-cut; but whereas this is the usual method of portage in the south, where the creel is not seen (among Chinese-speakers), the reverse holds good in the north. It may not be without interest that the very word used in Cantonese and the Min dialects for carrying children in the T'ai fashion seems to be unknown in the north; it is not to be found in K'ang-hsi's dictionary. The custom must, however, have been known at one time in north China, for another word of the same sense appears in the Confucian *Analects* (xiii, 4): (167), P. /tɕ'iaŋ \ fu 'tɕ'i /tsɤ, 'carrying their children on their backs'.

Our knowledge of the aboriginal languages has progressed much since the date of Terrien de Lacouperie's paper on the *Languages of China before the Chinese* (1885). That work, the first attempt to treat of its subject as a whole, was in many ways a remarkable performance; but, besides the fact that its author was hardly abreast of the linguistic method of his period, and was all too ready to find genetic relations between whole languages on the strength of resemblance between isolated words, his terminology is no longer current, and a much closer acquaintance with the linguistic groups to which he seeks to assign the specimens collected on Chinese soil has rendered obsolete most of his attempts at classification. His work will best live, in all probability, in respect of his explanation of the T'ai dialects as having arisen in historical times in pre-China 'from the intermingling of southern languages, belonging chiefly . . . to the Môn type, with Chinese and other languages of the Kuenlunic type.' It is perhaps characteristic of Lacouperie's enthusiasm that he should regard the probability of such a provenance as 'nearly equivalent to a certainty', while he dispenses with the production of evidence. In saying that the theory is his most notable construction in this field it is not implied that it is entirely satisfactory, but merely that it is a happy illustration of Lacouperie's creative imagination, not inconsistent with any of the comparatively narrow range of facts which he sought to explain, and useful as a basis of further investigation. If we regard it as unacceptable as stated it is because it is hard to picture the circumstances in which two languages can meet on terms of

equality to intermingle and form a third; always, so far as our knowledge goes, one of the languages is, so to speak, a root-stock on which the other is grafted. In the result the shape of the language may be profoundly altered from the common type of others growing from the same root; but closer examination rarely leaves us in doubt, even in such a case as Annamese, where no morphological forms guide us, as to which of the contributory tongues is the more fundamental in its foundation.

Until comparatively modern times Chinese has not occupied territory adjoining that of Tibetan speakers. Speakers of the two languages do not appear to have been in contact on a large scale, apart from military operations, until the time of Hsi-Hsia or Tangut rule in parts of Kansuh province in the eleventh century, when Chinese had already assumed most of the traits which distinguish the modern phase of the language. Any resemblances between Chinese and Tibetan, therefore, at any stage in their evolution, must, unless fortuitous, derive from their common ancestral form; unless we suppose both to have been influenced by the same third language.

Tibetan was first reduced to writing under king Srong-btsan-sgam-po, a contemporary of Muhammad and a zealous adherent of Buddhism. It was natural, therefore, that the language should be written in an adaptation of the alphabet used in Indian Buddhist books; the alphabet seems to have been tolerably well suited to the representation of Tibetan sounds, and its pronunciation at the time of its adoption is, apart from a few points, fairly accurately known.

Phonetically, Tibetan of the seventh century was rich, possessing the full range of occlusives (voiced, voiceless, and unvoiced aspirates) in velars, labials, dentals; the same range in dental affricates, simple and palatalised, and the sounds r, l, s, z, $\int$, $\mathfrak{z}$, m, n, η, $\mathfrak{n}$, h, j, as well as the glottal stop. Words end in vowels or in the voiced stops or l, m, n, η, r or s, and this last, as well as by m and η, might be preceded in final position by a voiced stop. It will be observed that all final consonants except -s are voiced; and this -s is itself almost certainly the remains of a syllabic suffix, possibly *-sa, so that the exception is only apparent. As most words begin with a prefix, and as all prefixes are voiced, there is the same predominance

of voiced initials; an exception must, however, be made for words beginning with an aspirated occlusive or affricate, or with *s*- or *f*-. Tibetan markedly avoids placing immediately together in the same word homorganic consonants, so that the *b*- or *m*- prefixes are never added to words beginning with a labial, nor *d*- to a word beginning in *t*- or *n*-; so also the suffix -*s* causes a final -*n* to change to -*ŋ*, as in *mphen-pa*, 'to throw', perfect *mphaŋs*; and -*d* to be lost completely (*-*d*-*s* > -*s*). (The contradiction of what immediately precedes implied in this interpretation *mph*- is graphic only; Shafer has shown that the special symbol usually translitered as *a*- or *ḫ*- is the residue of a homorganic nasal prefix, and this is here interpreted as *m*-.) The bilabial *w* occurs sparingly,—as initial in a few words, and after the initial stop or group in some others, e.g. *grwa*, 'corner', a variant of *gru*; it appears to be moribund in classical Tibetan and has left no trace in the later language. The vocalism is simple, consisting of the five cardinal vowels only, diphthongs being very rare. In initial position, apparently unpronounceable consonantal groups appear, and it is not surprising that it was once suggested that such compounds as *smr*-, *rdʒ*-, *brgj*- were never intended to be pronounced as written, and were mere graphic devices to distinguish homophones in writing; this view has been disproved, since Wolfenden and others have noted that the groups are actually enunciated as written (with a slight supporting vowel) in Jyarung and other archaic dialects of eastern Tibet. This sound system has been radically simplified, especially in central Tibet, but not to the extent of reducing all compounds to simple sounds, as Chinese has done.

As regards tones, Jäschke implies that classical Tibetan had only two, an upper and a lower, corresponding in use with those in Ancient Chinese; in Y. R. Chao's transcription of modern Lhasa Tibetan it seems that there exists a complicated tonal system, in which direct relation between tone and initial consonant is no longer evident; G. de Roerich finds in the same dialect a system roughly parallel to that of Ancient Chinese, with even, rising, and falling tones in each of two series. It is uncertain whether what we know of tones in modern Tibetan is sufficient to warrant us in attributing the whole tonal system, or even any tones at all, to the period of Tibeto-Chinese unity.

The word-order of Tibetan is that of the whole Tibeto-Burman

family. The adjective normally precedes the noun qualified: *bod skad*, 'Tibetan speech'; as also does the possessive, with or without a genitive particle, as *ŋai khjim*, 'my house', *hla sa*, 'god ('s) land', the name of the town of Lhasa. The verb finds its place at the end of the sentence, often followed by an auxiliary.

So far we have been describing the classical language, but a few archaic writings, such as *mjig*, for the classical *mig*, 'eye', and especially internal comparison of Tibetan words with other Tibeto-Burman dialects, enable us to see something of its anterior development. In Chapter I we have given a few examples of the very common metathesis in initial consonantal groups. The palatalisation of *l-*, *r-*, and of groups involving these, has curiously disguised many words, so that it is not immediately obvious that Tib. *b-ʒi*, 'four' (from **b-lji*) is Burmese *le*, and identical with words with initial *l-* (often with prefix) in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Tib. **ml-* has become *md-*, as in the word for 'bow', *mda*. The simple vocalism may not be original; there are clear indications that Tib. *-o-*, in some cases at least, goes back to **-wa-*, Tib. *-e-* to **-ia-*. It is, of course, this older stage of Tibetan which must be used in comparison with Chinese.

In spite of their many points of difference, it is not only by its vocabulary that Tibetan is seen to be linked with Chinese. In Chapter VI we shall deal with a feature of word-formation common to the two languages; and there is another trait of the same nature which they share. It has been shown elsewhere that the Tibetan affricates, including the palatals, in many cases at least conceal a lateral initial, *l-* or *r-*, possibly also *n-*, preceded by a dental prefix. Now, the same phenomenon occurs also in the formation of Chinese words, as witness the following pairs:

> GS 529 *lwəð*, 'defect': 494 *dzjət*, idem;
> 766 *lak*, 'begin': 806 *tsak*, idem;
> 178 *ljwan*, 'thin': 155 *dzjvn*, idem;
> 359 *niər*, 'numerous': 592 *tsʻiər*, 'luxuriant'.

Altogether, well over a hundred such pairs are to be found in Chinese examples within the Tibeto-Burman family have already been cited.

Tibetan as we first see it has much more of what is popularly called grammar than, by all direct evidence, Chinese ever had. A majority of its substantives have attached to them a syllable: *pa, ba, ma, po,*

bo, mo, which Jäschke and other grammarians have called the
'article', although the function of such syllables, if they can be said
to have one in the classical language, is not analogous to that of the
article in European languages. They are sometimes omitted when
the noun is used in composition, e.g.: *dpon-po*, 'master, ruler', but
k'rims-dpon, 'criminal judge'; *dpon-med*, 'masterless, free', etc.

When these adjuncts are removed we still have not arrived at the
central core of the word; take, for instance, the verb *za-ba*, 'to eat'
(in which the latter syllable is again one of these 'articles'). This verb
makes a perfect tense *zos*, a future *bza*, and an imperative *zo* or
zos, where the initial *b-* and the final *-s* are obviously affixes, the
agglutination of which to the root syllable accounts for most if not
all of the difficult consonantal combinations of which we have spoken.
Wolfenden attempted, with a considerable measure of success, to
trace the original force of these particles by comparison of Tibetan
with other dialects of its group. In some cases their function is still
clear; the noun or pronoun subject of a transitive verb adds a final
-s, and a final *-r* gives a locative meaning to a noun, as *sa*, 'land':
sar, 'to the land' or 'on the land'. But the system, for such we must
believe it to have once been, is already in decay in the earliest
Tibetan, as is also, apparently, the ablaut seen in verbal tense forma-
tion, as in alternation of vowels *a* and *o* in the verb *za-ba* above
quoted.

In the thousands of years which had elapsed between the time
when the speakers of Chinese and of Tibetan can have been one
people and the earliest Tibetan records of our seventh century there
is ample time for an affixal system to have grown up and again de-
cayed; it would be rash, therefore, even with the support on the
Chinese side of the list of grammatical variants given by Karlgren
(*Word Families in Chinese*) to attribute this particular system to the
common language.

MIAO AND YAO

Since Lacouperie's time, the non-Chinese dialects of China have
been the subject of a number of more or less comprehensive and more
or less satisfactory studies. Among these is one of which we shall
make much use in what follows, it being the work of one who possesses
a practical acquaintance with several of the dialects concerned:

Savina's *Histoire des Miao*. Using a modification of the quoc-ngu alphabet, originally devised for the writing of Annamese, Savina gives us, not indeed a scientific grammar of Miao, still less a comparative study of its dialects, but a record carefully put together and reasonably precise of facts falling within a somewhat arbitrary scope.

The Miao call themselves 'Mhông' ('ɱõŋ); (169), P. *'miao*, a character which has also the proper meaning of 'sprouting grain' and can hardly have originally designated a race of men, is just possibly another version of the same word. The form Mhông suggests comparison with that of the 'Man' (162), 'southern barbarians', which name was also applied by the Chinese to the Miao and other pre-Chinese tribes after these had been reduced to the more southerly parts of the Yangtsze provinces. In Indo-China the Yao (akin to the Miao) are also known as Man; the two peoples may easily have been confused more than once. It is alluring, but less safe, to find the same root in the name of the Mon people, otherwise known as Talaing, of southern Burma, who speak a language of the same family as Miao; and we may even place beside it the Tibetan adjective *mon*, 'Indian'; the first peoples with whom the Tibetans came into contact as they pressed southwards over the Himalayas were in all probability speakers of Munda tongues, still more distantly related to the Miao group, and the features in which some of the Himalayan languages (Dhimal, Limbu, Bahing, Rong, etc.) depart from the Tibetan norm bring them nearer to the corresponding features in phonetics and morphology of the Munda languages. In the present state of our knowledge, however, these resemblances in name can hardly be regarded otherwise than as curious coincidences.

Estimates of the present numbers of the speakers are largely guess-work; some competent observers have placed the figures for the Heh-Miao (Black Miao) in China alone as close on a million, and the Black Miao are only one, though the most numerous, of a number of sections of the Miao people. They are an agricultural folk, keep domestic animals, and cultivate rice among other cereals, depending on the outside world for little but salt and matches. They are divided into a number of tribes, differentiated by their dress and named (by the Chinese first, and after them by Europeans) in accordance with this Black Miao, White Miao, Flowery Miao, etc., besides which there are tribes known as Chuan Miao, Kehdeo, etc. The last named call

themselves Mp'o, possibly a variant of the word Mhông, and that is the name given them in these pages. These various tribes are not each confined to a well-demarcated area, and between villages of one tribe there is no political coherence.

It is unnecessary to say anything of their own traditions except that they corroborate the Chinese accounts of their former residence in Honan province and their migration southwards under pressure; nor need we deal very seriously with their claim to have once inhabited a country which, by description, must have been at least sub-arctic. It is, however, for our purposes to be noted that there is no clear assertion on the part of either Chinese or Miao that the latter were in the most ancient times settled to the east of a line running, approximately, north and south through the Poyang Lake in the north of Kiangsi. Their earliest historical seats were therefore in the north-west central parts of China Proper, where the earliest Chinese records know of Jung tribes, and adjoining or forming enclaves in the first known territory of the Chinese speakers.

Savina states categorically that there is only one Miao language, and if this means that there is an obvious relationship in structure and vocabulary between the forms of speech used by the various divisions, then the statement may be allowed to pass. But such unity as exists is compatible with notable differences, as great as those which distinguish one language from another elsewhere. Savina records only one form of the language, without particularising the tribe or district in which it is spoken. Practically nothing is known of any of the Miao languages before the present century; none of them has a system of writing nor any literature so far published, though Savina notes some folk-songs.

Miao and Yao were assigned by Schmidt, along with Khamti, Shan, and Ahom, to the northern group of T'ai languages, while K'lai (Li), Tho, Dioi, etc., constitute an eastern, and Lao, Siamese and some less well-known dialects form the remaining southern group. It is very hard indeed for anyone with the slightest first-hand acquaintance with these languages to understand the separation of the closely related Ahom and Siamese, or the inclusion in the T'ai family at all of so alien a speech as Miao; one can only conclude that Schmidt had no access to any but very fragmentary specimens of the dialects. Przyluski attaches them to the T'ai family, but with more

hesitation, and warning us that the Miao languages have not yet been the subject of comparative study. Only Davies boldly assigns them to the Mon-Khmer family (for which some prefer the name of Austroasiatic); and in the opinion of the present writer there can be little doubt but that Davies, though not professedly a linguist, is in the right on this point as against the two eminent linguists named. The linking of Miao-Yao with T'ai appears, in fact, to be an instance of the fallacy of ranging languages into families on the strength of formal resemblance rather than on the basis of fundamental vocabulary.

The T'ai and Mon-Khmer languages have the same word-order, or, as Lacouperie would have said, the same ideology; typically, Mon-Khmer makes no use of significant tones, readily uses compound consonants in initial position, and shows a predominance of consonantal endings. The words are monosyllables or reducible to such. Miao and Yao apart, only Annamese (which is probably not at bottom a Mon-Khmer tongue though powerfully influenced by Mon-Khmer) uses tone to differentiate meaning. Khasi, an apparently archaic language of the same family spoken in western Assam, and in some sort intermediate between the eastern Mon-Khmer and the Munda languages of India, has a well-developed system of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, used in word formation; there are traces of such a system, now fossilised, in some of the eastern languages: Khmer (Cambodian), Stieng, Bahnar, Palaung, etc. No trace of these affixed formations has so far been proved in Miao, where any that may have existed have doubtless perished in the drastic phonetic attrition to which these dialects have been subjected.

While, however, these dialects recede from the Mon-Khmer type in respect of phonetics and morphology, they have retained generally the characteristic word-order of the family; substantive preceding adjective or genitive, and subject-object-verb. Classifiers are used, and find their place between the numeral or demonstrative and the substantive. In all dialects occur cases where the adjective precedes the substantive and the genitive its governing noun, but such cases are more frequent in Heh-Miao and Mp'o than in the others. In the Miao dialects there is a kind of possessive suffix, *pie* in Heh-Miao, *mp'ou* in Mp'o: e.g., *'ki mp'ou tuŋ*, 'your son'. The particle is exactly the same as the Chinese (78), *tsɪ*, and its correlatives in the

modern vernaculars, both in its use and in its omission; the resemblance is heightened when we consider such phrases as Mp'o ‿*ma* ⁻*m̨* -*k'ɔ* ˎ*sei* '*nuŋ* ˎ*mp'ou*, 'have nothing to eat', lit. 'not have thing what eat's'; or -*ku-suŋ* '*ʃi* ˎ*mp'ou*, 'what I write', lit. 'I what write's'. Either of these phrases might go word for word and without inversion into modern Chinese. The latter phrase exemplifies also a use of the relative -*suŋ*, exactly equivalent to Chinese (120), /*so*, and might be put directly into Pekingese as (169), /*wɔ* /*so* /*ɕiɛ* *ti*. It is, of course, possible to think of Chinese influence in the development of Miao syntax; but borrowing in the reverse direction cannot be excluded. These usages belong to the modern phases of Chinese; and Classical Tibetan, although it has the particle *ki*, often equated with the Chinese -*tʂɪ*, shows no such extension of its use as in the last two examples.

M. H. Hutton has distinguished six tones in each of the two dialects which he has reduced to writing; Daniel Jones finds five in Hua-Miao; the Hua-Miao syllabary, and the dialect given by Savina, each show four. Of great significance in the question of the linguistic relationships of Miao and Yao is the discovery by Chang Kun that the primitive language had a system of eight tones (including two ju-sheng) in two registers, connected with an original distinction of voiced and voiceless initials; thus we have the equivalent in all its details of the tonal system of Common T'ai, and of the Chinese system as preserved today in Cantonese. This common feature, striking as it is, will not suffice to prove relationship in the genealogical sense between Miao-Yao and T'ai, still less between these and Chinese; it is equally compatible with a substratal influence of Miao on the developing Chinese and T'ai idioms, or by a similar pervasion of all three groups by a still earlier but unknown language.

As initial consonants, Hua-Miao shows *p, t, k, q, ts, t* (each of which may also be aspirated, —*p'-*, etc.), *j, l, ḷ, f, h, v, m, m̨, n, n̨, ŋ*. The voiced occlusives, *b, d, g, ʤ*, occur only as second elements in the combinations *mb-, nd-, ŋg-, nʤ-*. The vocalism is full, and includes diphthongs. The passage (Appendix III) transcribed by Jones contains no instance of other than vocalic finals, but the texts of all dialects show a velar nasal (*ŋ*) as final, commonest after the vowels *a* and *u*. It seems to pass easily into a mere nasalisation of the preceding vowel; in a number of words the texts of Mp'o fluctuate

between -*ɔ* and -*uŋ*. Yet it seems clear from the correspondences in cognate languages that the velar nasal was authentic, representing a final nasal in other Mon-Khmer dialects; e.g., 'tree': HehM. *'tu*, Mp'o -*nt'uŋ*, HuaM. *'ntau*, Khmer *dœm*, Khasi *ding*, Stieng and Bahnar *tœm*. (Here and elsewhere, where Khasi is quoted, the conventional spelling is left unchanged); 'neck' HehM. -*kuŋ*, Mp'o -*kluŋ*, HuaM. *'klaŋ*, Bahnar *haloŋ*.

The initial consonant groups found are, apart from the 'prenasals', dealt with hereunder, as follows: *kl*, *k'l*, *pl*, *p'l*, *tl*, *t'l*, *kr*, *k'r*. These combinations are best preserved in Mp'o, Hua-Miao tending to transform the labial element in *pl-*, etc., into *k-*, and all dialects to reduce the groups to *l-*, or, in other cases, by simple elision of the -*l*- (as has happened in T'ai, Ahom, Siamese *pla*, 'fish': Lao *pa*, Dioi *pia*), and in Chinese; and cf. the word for 'neck' quoted above. It is particularly worthy of note that the Heh-Miao, probably the most numerous of the Miao and constituting in some way an aristocracy among the Miao, have rid their language of all compound consonants (except the prenasals); they are still left with a larger number of distinct sounds than any Northern Chinese dialect possesses, but a system of writing specially devised for Heh-Miao might be used without modification for the Chinese of most areas in the north, which indicates a phonological similarity rare even between closely cognate languages. It has been noted by Schotter how easily the Miao acquires the pronunciation of Northern Chinese as contrasted with their T'ai-speaking neighbours in Kweichow.

The irregular representation of the initials with prefixed homorganic nasals ('prenasals') is puzzling. The nasal might be prosthetic; but where it occurs in the T'ai languages (Chungchia), and in the Chin dialect of Chinese, it appears as representing by its whole nexus a particular type of occlusive, which, in the case of T'ai, Przyluski calls 'mi-sourdes', the voiceless *ɓ* and *ɗ*. Wherever it has been possible to find apparently cognate words in other Mon-Khmer languages, it is either the nasal or the occlusive that appears, rarely both. The combination is, in fact, somewhat rare in the rest of the Mon-Khmer family, and if we consider it as a combination of two separate consonants, it is surprising that Miao, which has gone further than any of its relatives in the reduction of consonantal combinations, should have been the one group to preserve this nexus. It is, there-

fore, permissible to suggest that the process at work is the contrary, the emergence of an occlusive by the premature closing of the nasal passage in preparation for the following vowel (progressive assimilation); in this way, the nasal was original, and developed the homorganic stop, *b-* or *p-*, etc., by denasalisation of its latter portion. This is, be it noted, the process by which Karlgren believes the same results to have been attained in the Chin dialect of Shansi, whence it influenced the form of the kan-on in Japanese, and the literary sounds in the Min dialects. If it can be confirmed for Miao, then its occurrence here may be of great importance as showing not only how but also why such a change took place in the Chinese dialect.

Further light has been thrown on this question by the comparatively recent (1950) discovery that many languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and of south China, comprising dialects classified as Austroasiatic, T'ai, and Austronesian (Rhade, Cham, etc.) possess a type of stop, generally voiced, which is preceded or accompanied by a closure of the glottis, and known as preglottalised consonants. In one Austroasiatic language, Mnong-gar, Haudricourt records that the initial *ʔm-* is at present in process of transition to *mb-* (cf. the writing *mb-*, *nd-*, for the words in Chungchia corresponding to the preglottalised stops in other T'ai languages); and it seems not impossible that the prenasalised initials of Miao may have arisen in a similar way. The absence of any reflexion in the tones of such Miao words tells against this suggestion, and at least proves that the glottal stop, if it once existed in such cases, was lost before such syllables took the lower tone. It is in any case interesting to compare the equations of Tibetan *mb-*, etc., and Chinese *m-*, etc. (chapter VI) with the further development of the *mb-*, *mp-*, etc., of Green Miao and the equivalents in Heh Miao, more phonetically advanced:

Green Miao *ɲdʒau*, 'ant': Heh Miao *dəu*
ɲtʃhaŋ, 'blood':   *tʃ'ie*
ŋkua, 'dove':   *kɔ*
ŋɕi, 'downwards':   *ŋa*
ndi, 'finger':   *tæ*

The Miao vocabulary naturally varies from one dialect to another, but, apart from obvious loans from Chinese, such as Mp'o *tuŋ*, 'brass'; *'ji-vi*, 'because'; *'ʃiaŋ ⁻ʃia*, 'country' (RUS); *ˌkuɛ*, 'kingdom'

(P. *'tuŋ, -jin \wei, -ɕiaŋ \ɕia*, and *'kuo* respectively), mostly denounced by their tones as modern introductions, it does not seem to contain any identifiable cognates with other than Mon-Khmer vocabulary. It is possible, and even *a priori* probable that it has incorporated elements from even earlier tongues; but when we consider the distance of place and the antiquity of their separation, the coincidences between, say, Khasi and Miao in their word-stocks is remarkable. A few examples have already been quoted; the following are a few more of the large number available. Accidental resemblances no doubt occur, and will have to be weeded out in the light of more intensive knowledge of these languages; meanwhile, until the phonetic laws governing their sound changes have been determined, the best guarantee that the majority of the words cited are genuine cognates must be the impossibility of finding an equally full list of coincidences with any other group of languages:

'Blood', Khasi *snâm*, (Bahnar *pham*, Stieng *maham*, Palaung *hna:m*): Green M., HwaM. *ɲtʃʻaŋ, Mpʻo nsʻuŋ*;

'Bone', Khasi *shing*,: HwaM. *'tʃʻaŋ*, HehM. *-suŋ, Mpʻo sʻaŋ*;

'Change', Khasi *pli* (Bahnar *pli:h, ʃœlih*, Stieng and Biat *pleh*): Chʻuan Miao *plei*, HwaM. *klʻi*;

'Earth', Khasi *ktih*, 'paddy-field' (Mon *ti*, Bahnar and Stieng *teh*, Riang *kəte*): Green Miao, Mpʻo *ti*, etc.;

'Hand', Khasi *kti* (Mon *ta:i*, Bahnar, Stieng, Sre and Riang *ti*): Green Miao and HwaM. *ti*, White Miao *te*;

'Hawk', Khasi *khling* (Bahnar, Stieng and Sre *klaŋ*): HwaM., Chʻuan Miao, Yao *klaŋ*;

'Six', Khasi *(hin)riw* (Mon *trau*, Boloven *tarau*, Sre and Biat *prau*): Green Miao *trau*, HwaM. *klau*.

(For the Green Miao quoted I am indebted to the observations of Dr. T. A. Lyman.)

This list might be greatly extended; and when a particular form is quoted from only some of the Miao languages, it must be remembered that our knowledge of all these languages is still so far from complete that we cannot say that a cognate form does not exist in others as well. Some words, like that for 'eye' (HehM. *'mɛ*, Mpʻo *_m*, HwaM. *¯ma*, etc.) suggest linkage with the Chinese (170), ACh. *_mjuk*, P. *\mu*; but this latter, like the Tibetan *mig*, ended in a velar, while the

Mon-Khmer languages show a dental final in this word: Khasi (*khy*)*mat*, Môn *mot*, etc. We cannot, however, attach the Miao word to the Austroasiatic, for the Miao tone shows that it has not had a final stop since the Miao tonal system came into being. To use, as Trombetti does, such coincidences to establish a larger family including Sinitic and Mon-Khmer in one genealogy is at best premature until the phonetic history of each group has been worked out much more fully than it has been in any of them. In dealing with languages where monosyllabism is the rule, and where consonantalism is much impoverished, fortuitous resemblances are painfully easy to find: in the case of the very word last considered we remember its curious likeness to the Modern Greek μάτι, where any real connection is excluded by our knowledge of its derivation from the diminutive form of the ancient ὄμμα, phonetically so decayed that what now represents the meaning is simply a pair of formative suffixes, every vestige of the Indo-European root *ok^w- having melted away.

Vocabulary apart, Miao has in common with at least some of the Mon-Khmer languages the peculiar feature of specific adverbs, i.e., adverbs, generally of intensive force, each specialised for use with a single adjective. The use of classifiers is common to this group and to T'ai, as well as, of course, to Chinese and to many of the Tibeto-Burman and Mon-Khmer dialects. The word order is closest to that of T'ai and Mon-Khmer, adjectives normally following the noun, verbs preceding their object, and the governing noun the governed.

The materials for a study of the Yao or Man language are, unfortunately, very much more scanty. Chang Kun (op. cit.) shows that its tonal system is that of Miao; the initial consonants and their compounds are generally those found in Miao, but Yao is not so intolerant of consonantal finals as is the latter language. Most of the words with occlusive finals are either readily seen to be of Chinese origin (as *'jat*, 'one', ACh. ⁻ʿ*jet*; (171), *'ap*, 'duck', ACh. (172), ⁻ʿ*ap*), or are reasonably suspected of being aliens, whether from Chinese or from some other language. There are, however, undoubted cases of endings in -*m* and -*n*, both of which finals are unknown to Miao, in authentic Yao words, as Yao *wam*, 'water', against Mp'o _*ou*; cf. Palaung *o:m*, which shows that Yao, at least occasionally, keeps an older form of the language.

Apart from loan words, Yao does not differ in vocabulary, or, where

vocabulary is common to both, in phonetic form, from any of the Miao dialects more than the latter do between themselves. It has its closest fellow in Mp'o, which often agrees with Yao against the remainder of the Miao languages. Scattered Yao-speaking communities still hold out in the mountainous parts of northern Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and they are said to have preceded the Miao and Lolos in Kweichow, though no longer found in that province.

The language of the Kehlao (Ch. (173), otherwise known as (174), *'liao*) is one of the most obscure of those still surviving in China, and is said to be approaching extinction; no adequate record of it exists. The tribe is scattered throughout Kweichow and parts of Yünnan. Lacouperie works on an admittedly unsatisfactory Chinese transcription of the language, and his results do not inspire confidence; there is, for example, a suspicious likeness between the phrases *kia kung*, 'mother's father', and *kia p'o*, 'mother's mother' (which Lacouperie uses to show that the genitive precedes the governing word!) and the common Chinese phrases (175), *-tɕia -kuŋ*, 'wife's father-in-law' and (176), *-tɕia 'p'o*, 'wife's mother-in-law'. The vocabulary, so far as it can be identified, and so far as it does not consist of borrowed Chinese words, has close analogies with that of T'ai: Kehlao *bai*, 'to walk', Tho *pai;* *ru*, 'white', Tho *khao;* *ka*, 'eat', Tho *ken;* *bai*, 'fire', Tho *phai;* *mu*, 'dog', Tho *ma*. (The comparison has been made with Tho, but any other T'ai dialect would have offered cognates for these Kehlao words.) If, as Lacouperie says, they have lived mixed with Lolos, and not merely scattered over the same areas, then such a racial mixture would well explain the extreme divergence from the normal T'ai languages in the loss of all final consonants, to which Kehlao shows itself almost as hostile as Miao or Lolo. The numerals are not T'ai, and show no clear relations with any other group; they are faintly reminiscent of some of the K'lai dialects of Hainan. We know nothing of a wider extension of the tribe in former times, and they do not appear to have been likely to count for much in the development of Chinese. The Kehlao may be the remains of some tribe, possibly of Miao or Lolo affinities, on whom was imposed, but very imperfectly, a T'ai speech during the T'ai supremacy in Yünnan and the neighbouring regions from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries.

I have chosen the name K'lai as a general name to cover a group of

dialects spoken by a dozen or more tribes in the hilly regions of Hainan Island. They have been referred to under such names as Li, K'lai, Loi, and other variants, of which, it would seem, K'lai is the most archaic as it is the most distinctive. They are very little known to the outside world; the locus classicus was till recently a paper by Strzoda of 1911, and it says much for the neglect of Far Eastern studies that he can do little beyond assembling vocabularies of the various dialects collected as far back as 1892, when Jeremiassen wrote on the K'lai in the *China Review*. Later, however, a dictionary was published by Savina, to which he added some grammatical notes and references to dialectal variations; of this Maspero gave two years later (1933) a most valuable review.

The vocabularies are on the whole T'ai, with considerable intrusions of Chinese words in some of them; and the word-order is also that of T'ai. They have, however, a considerable number of words, (inclusive of the numerals, which are common to all these dialects so far as they have not been replaced by Chinese forms) unknown to other T'ai languages, and showing no affinity with any known language. These words of mysterious origin, however, seem also to be monosyllabic, and Maspero has identified a number of them with forms in the vocabulary of Cham (Malayo-Polynesian, or Austronesian family), and found at least one highly interesting dissyllabic word among these. In physical features also the K'lai are described as of a more southerly type than the Chinese of the mainland, and we may have here the remains of a language formerly more widely spread, which may once have been spoken also in continental China. Chinese loans in K'lai seem to have been made mostly from the Hainanese dialect; the alternation of the initials *ts-: t-: sl-* between one dialect and another may stand in some causal relationship with the anomalous treatment of dental initials in Hainanese and in certain varieties of Cantonese not far distant; but the material available is too scanty to say more, and there is nothing to show that K'lai has affected the evolution of any Chinese dialect.

T'AI

The T'ai languages are generally divided into two great groups,—a southern, consisting of Ahom (now extinct, formerly spoken, from the thirteenth century, in Assam, and preserved in writing from that

time), Siamese (written since the last years of the same century), and Lao; and a northern, embracing Khamti, Shan, Chungchia (practically identical with Dioi), and, possibly the K'lai languages which we have just discussed. Most of the dialects are not recorded before last century, apart from unreliable Chinese vocabularies, dating in some cases from our Middle Ages, and limited by the capacities of the Chinese script.

Large bodies of T'ai speakers are to be found at the present day only among the Siamese, Laos and Shans; the dialects still spoken in China outside Yünnan are the idioms of villages scattered throughout the northern parts of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Kweichow. The speakers of these dialects are in physical characters very close to the southern Chinese, and seem to have contributed largely to the formation of that people. It is generally held that the area of characterisation of the T'ai peoples and language was somewhere in south-west China; some have placed it as far north as Kansuh. We have no clear evidence of their existence much to the north of the Nan-shan and Mei-ling ranges, and the centre of their power in China seems always to have lain in the three southern provinces of Yünnan (where they ruled a wide empire for many centuries till its destruction in the thirteenth century), and the two Kwang provinces (where they were overthrown by the Chinese in 214 B.C., but remained semi-independent until their last great rebellion was crushed in A.D. 1053). The migration of these peoples into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula seems to have begun about two thousand years ago, and may not improbably be connected with the Chinese encroachment on Kwangtung in the second century before our era; similarly, the main movement southwards and westwards in the sixth century A.D. may be connected with the extension of the T'ai kingdom of Nan-chao, which had its capital at Ta-li in Yünnan.

The T'ai languages are remarkably uniform over their wide area and in spite of the difficult nature of much of their country; from which we may deduce that their speakers were a fairly homogeneous folk at the time of their dispersion and have since incorporated other peoples sparingly. It is said that speakers of any of the northern dialects can understand one another, and so with speakers of the southern dialects; Savina observes that he has known a Chungchia speaker from Kweichow intelligible to speakers of the southern Laotian dialects.

The general characteristics of the T'ai dialects are monosyllabism and tonality. Their pristine consonantalism seems to have been rich; besides the ordinary voiced and voiceless occlusives and affricates (k, t, p, tf; g, d, b, d_3), the unvoiced series existing in most dialects also with aspiration, it possessed the preglottalised consonants which we have already described in connexion with Miao (p. 98), a series of occlusives formerly described as voiceless lenes, $\mathring{g}$, $\mathring{d}$, $\mathring{b}$, which have recently, largely by the work of Li Fang-kuei, been recognised as preglottalised consonants. These remain, with or without the glottal closure, in some of the southern languages and in certain T'ai dialects of China, while Shan and Khamti have transformed $\mathring{d}$ into l, $\mathring{b}$ into m; Chungchia represents these consonants by nd- and mb- respectively. In Sui, Mak, and some other dialects of the Kwangsi region, which Li, though admitting their T'ai affinities, yet considers to be sufficiently distinct to be separated from the T'ai family proper, the glottalisation affects also initial nasals and semivowels. Chungchia, or Tung as Li prefers to name it, further differs from the rest of the family (except for some Shan dialects) in its antipathy to aspiration, converting its aspirates into the corresponding fricatives: Ahom $k'au$, Lao $k'ao$, 'rice': Chungchia hau. Ahom, known at an earlier date than the rest of the dialects, often shows a compound initial consonant (occlusive plus l or r) where the modern languages have the occlusive only: Ahom $phrum$, 'hair': Lao $ph_{\mathfrak{I}}m$; Ahom $klin$, 'drink', Shan kin. The final consonant, whether occlusive or nasal, shows no tendency to drop; the finals k, t, p are pronounced applosively only, as is the case in those Chinese dialects which still retain these consonants. The tonal system seems to have been originally determined, as in Chinese and Tibetan, by the nature (voiced or voiceless) of the initial consonant, but with three inflexions in each register, so that it differs little if at all from that of Miao and of those southern Chinese dialects which have maintained the system intact.

The word order is as in Miao: noun before adjective, governing noun before genitive; and T'ai adheres more rigidly to the position of the adjective than do the Miao languages as we know them. In Ahom, which in this respect also doubtless represents an earlier stage of T'ai, the classifier preceded by the numeral follows the noun, as it does when it first makes its appearance in Chinese. The classifiers are used more extensively than in Chinese, and with somewhat different

force; it is as if the classifier, originally a self-sufficient substantive, still retained much of its original full meaning. For instance, in Lao, *mak* is not only the classifier of fruits of all kinds, used in the same way with a noun denoting a fruit as is (177), P. *-tṣɪ*, in Chinese, but is also an almost inseparable part of the name of the fruit, the distinctive name of the fruit being used in apposition, or in a quasi-adjectival way: *ᴗmak 'p'aŋ*, 'apricot'; *ᴗmak _nat*, 'pineapple', *ᴗmak ˏsom*, 'orange'; cf. the inseparable '-berry' in the English names of fruits. There is evidence that T'ai in an older phase used a system of prefixes and infixes in word formation and to express grammatical relations; but in the languages where vestiges of this system may still be seen the forms are fossilised, no longer a living morphological device.

The vocabulary is curious. Apart from a large number of Pali and Sanskrit words borrowed into Siamese, and a similar naturalisation of Chinese cultural words in Tho, Chungchia, etc., there is common to the whole family a very notable proportion of words, including the numerals, indisputably connected with their Chinese counterparts, and so near in form to their Ancient Chinese equivalents as to contrast strongly with the equally large vocabulary which shows no Chinese affinities, and to suggest borrowing rather than collatery. The personal pronouns curiously resemble those of Miao, but apart from these words, and a similar order of words in the sentence, the T'ai and Miao groups have little in common, and almost nothing that both do not share with Chinese. If we can accept Lacouperie's theory that the T'ai speech owes its formation to the fusion of Chinese with a language of the Mon-Khmer family, we must suppose the Mon-Khmer language to have been one not very closely akin to Miao, and especially far from it in phonetic habits; and that Chinese contributed comparatively little to the fundamental word-stock. The numerals apart, Chinese influence is not easy to trace in that part of the vocabulary which constitutes the core of the language; and such vocabulary as is common to T'ai and Chinese finds readier explanation if we postulate cultural relations between the two rather than amalgamation. It will be observed, e.g., in the very notable attempt of Wulff to prove genealogical relationship between T'ai and Chinese, that very few of the vocables examined can be traced through Chinese into Tibeto-Burman, and that insufficient allowance has been made

for the long contact of T'ai with Chinese and the consequent proba-
bility of cultural loans in either direction.

LOLO

Of the Lolo languages, of which a number of fairly closely related
dialects are recorded, it will be sufficient for our purposes to say that
they are spoken by scattered populations in Yünnan, Szech'wan, and
parts of Kweichow. The Lolos of the northern part of their domain
have attracted interest on account of their physical appearance,
which often tends more towards a European type than a Chinese,
especially in the matter of eyes and nose. They are a warlike people,
and until recently even held Chinese in the position of slaves. Those
further towards the south are shorter and darker.

Phonetically their language resembles the Miao-Yao group, having
the same compound initial consonants and prenasals, and the same
hostility to consonantal finals. The word order is the same as the
Tibetan, the verb taking its place at the end of the sentence; and the
vocabulary, so far as it can be identified, related to Tibetan,—more
obviously so than is general in the case of Chinese words. The resem-
blance in phonetic structure to Miao and the wide departure in this
respect from the strong consonantalism of Tibetan might be due to a
Miao substratum in the Lolo population; but of such a substratum it
would be the only evidence, as the two groups have never, so far as is
known, occupied the same area until comparatively modern times,
when we find them dispersed throughout the same area in south-
west China. If the same cause is at work to produce the phonetic sim-
plification in both Miao and Lolo, it is at least equally probable that
both owe it to a third language on which Tibetan in the one case, a
Mon-Khmer language in the other, have been severally imposed. If
so, that language has itself so completely disappeared that we are not
even able to assign it a name, or to identify its speakers with any
people known to us in history.

The following examples illustrate the closeness in vocabulary to
Tibetan and at the same time the phonetic attrition of Lolo:

Nosu	Tib.		Nosu	Tib.	
ni,	*ɲi-ma,*	'day'	*ʃi,*	*ʃi-ba,*	'die'
tʃ'i	*k'ji,*	'dog'	*neu*	*rna-ba,*	'ear'

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RELATED AND CONTIGUOUS LANGUAGES

Nosu	Tib.		Nosu	Tib.	
ɖʑio	nʤigs,	'fear'	ŋo	lŋa,	'five'
p'a	p'jed,	'half'	no	nad,	'illness'
mie	miŋ,	'name'	kue	dgu,	'nine'
va	p'ag,	'pig'	tsʻuo	tsʻwa,	'salt'
tʃʻuo	drug,	'six'	su	gsum,	'three'
si	ʃiŋ,	'tree'	kuo	bgo-ba,	'wear'

No compact masses of Lolo speakers have, so far as we know, adopted Chinese in place of their own language until quite recent times, when the characters of Chinese as we know it were already developed; and it is unlikely that Lolo has influenced in any way the evolution of Chinese, whether in phonetics, syntax, or vocabulary.

ANNAMESE (VIETNAMESE)

On the extreme southern frontier of its territory as extended by the conquests of the early Han dynasty, Chinese came face to face with Annamese, a language of which the affinities, because of the extreme mixture of elements in its composition, was long in doubt. It was formerly assumed to belong to the Mon-Khmer group (then known as Mon-Annam); more recent investigations, with the aid of the languages of neighbouring hill tribes since made known, have inclined scholars such as Maspero to class it with the T'ai languages. Itself profoundly influenced by Chinese in vocabulary during the protracted Chinese rule in Annam, Annamese does not seem to have exerted any reciprocal influence on Chinese, which had, it would seem, already developed most of its distinguishing features before their contact. Before the Chinese conquest, Annam and Kwangtung were long under one rule; but everything points to that rule having been T'ai rather than Mon-Khmer, and we have no authority for supposing an extension of the Annamese language—if by that we mean a language like modern Annamese marked off from the T'ai dialects by a large incorporation of Mon-Khmer vocabulary—into what is now Chinese territory. Przyluski adhered to the older view, that Annamese is fundamentally a Mon-Khmer tongue; the matter is not, perhaps, of great importance for our purposes, for there is in any case an evident mixture of T'ai and Mon-Khmer elements.

When first recorded by European missionaries in the seventeenth

century, Annamese still had compound initial groups of consonants in cases where they are now reduced to simple sounds. The phonetic history is in this respect parallel with that of T'ai and Chinese, and this fact, so far as it goes, tells in favour of a T'ai basis for the language rather than a Mon-Khmer.

Specimens in phonetic script of some of the pre-Chinese languages are given in Appendix III.

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CHAPTER VI

PROTO-CHINESE

The period of the language to which Karlgren has given the name of Proto-Chinese covers all the history of Chinese down to 500 B.C. It extends into the past indefinitely, to a date which we cannot even conjecture, when Chinese with Tibetan formed one common language as yet undifferentiated. Naturally, most of this long period is a blank so far as concerns actual knowledge of linguistic events, and we can do no more than say that certain changes which the later language shows already completed must have taken place in this earlier time. If the Chinese did enter the Yellow River valley as invaders, their appearance there may not improbably be connected with the sudden increase in the population of that region which Andersson believes to have occurred about 2000 B.C., occasioned possibly by a cyclic improvement in its climate.

It was during this period, therefore, that the people who introduced an ancestral form of Chinese spread their rule and influence from what was presumably its first foothold in the country, eastern Kansuh and northern Honan, over the whole basin of the Yellow River. According to traditional history, the Chinese reached the sea north and south of the Shantung peninsula in the early years of the Shang dynasty (eighteenth century B.C.); but this need not have been more than a foray, for the close of our era finds their language occupying just that area, or little more. We have no sure evidence that the states of Ch'u or Ching (178), which, by the end of this period covered Hunan and parts of Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhwei and Honan, or that of Wu, which centred round the Yangtsze estuary, were in any real sense Chinese states at all. Maspero, indeed, has suggested that the description of outlying states as barbarian by Chinese historians may relate rather to their retarded cultural development than to their race or language, and complains that it has been too readily assumed by Europeans that the barbarians were not likewise Chinese. But, in the case of Wu we have definite evidence (in the attribution to the people of customs quite foreign to the

Chinese), and in that of Ch'u reasonable grounds for the suspicion, that these areas were sharply distinguished in race and language from the inner Chinese states. It has been deduced, for instance, from the frequency with which the oldest Chinese dictionary, the *Erh-ya* (179), assigned to the first or second century B.C., gives two characters to represent the sound of a word in the Wu language, that that language was then polysyllabic and therefore presumably not related to Chinese (of Malayan type?). In the *Tso Chuan*, formerly regarded as a commentary on the *Ch'un Ch'iu* and attributed to a personal disciple of Confucius, but now assigned to the Han period, we find a passage in which a member of one of the Jung tribes urges in argument that his people were unable owing to difference of language to converse with the Chinese. Moreover, in view of what we know of the existence of barbarians in Honan, it would be strange indeed if the more easterly part of the Yellow River region had been thickly populated by Chinese, or that the pre-Chinese there had already quite abandoned their own language. These latter may well have been, towards the end of the proto-Chinese period, in various stages of sinicisation, and may even in the more central parts of the Chou territory have completely lost their earlier speech together with all consciousness of alien origin; so that the former racial distinction had now become a social and economic one. At the other extreme lay those southern states just coming into the Chinese cultural orbit, where we may reasonably suppose the mass of the inhabitants to be still almost unaffected by Chinese influence.

The probabilities are that people of Chinese language, and possibly still largely of the race of those who brought the Sinitic language into the country, had progressively settled, throughout this region, those parts most suited to agricultural life, but left unassimilated if not undisturbed the native tribes in the remainder of the country. Such a supposition is not in conflict with the absence from Confucian literature of the immediately succeeding period of any hint of difference of language, except for the most distant state of Ch'u.

Our picture of the language of this period is necessarily based to a large extent, and especially as regards the sounds, on inference. But we are not without documents of the period. These are of two kinds: We have the ancient inscriptions, on bones and on bronzes, already mentioned in connection with the written character. Of these many

are undoubtedly genuine, and give us indisputable evidence regarding the word order, and, somewhat less surely, the vocabulary. On the other hand, the *Shi-Ching* or *Book of Odes* gives, on careful sifting, some reliable data on the pronunciation. It is, however, dangerous to press this source of information too far. All Chinese poetry is rimed; and, although such a thing may not have occurred in a language so well provided with similar-sounding endings as Chinese, we must remember that in most other languages where rimed verse is the rule, rime was preceded by assonance; and that Gaelic, for instance, in spite of the example of its neighbours, habitually uses assonance to this day. Much the same caution is necessary in drawing conclusions from the numerous cases in which our received text of the *Odes* employs a character which had in later times a sound very like, but not identical with, that of the writing which would have been used in the later classical language. In such cases we cannot suppose that the scribe always found an exactly homophonous writing; he may sometimes have been content with a character the sound of which was near enough to that intended to be readily understood by his contemporaries. Further, differences in pronunciation in different parts of the Chinese area must also be taken into account.

The *Shi-Ching*, according to tradition, was compiled by Confucius, who selected for preservation about three hundred poems out of ten times that number. Legge, following older Chinese commentators, gave weighty reasons for doubting this tradition, and suggests rather that Confucius preserved nearly all that he could find of the poetry of older times. There is in any case no reason to believe that Confucius discriminated against any particular locality in making or preserving his collection; he inserted poems the moral tone of which he reprobated equally with those which he found most edifying. It is a fair inference that, if we have poems only from ancient feudal states in the present provinces of Honan, Shensi, Shansi, Hopeh (Chihli) and Shantung, it is because that was the only part of the country in which Chinese was the vernacular language.

The poems do not belong to one century, but were composed at intervals in early and middle Chou times, according to Karlgren 1027–771 B.C., but chiefly between 800 and 600 B.C., before they were gathered together in the fifth century B.C., from popular or from official sources. Confucius was more concerned with morality and

statecraft than with language; but his general attitude of respect for ancient ways is likely to have made him conservative of any old forms which he found in the verses collected. The real danger to the reliability of our traditional texts lies in the recorded total destruction of the older literature ordered by the emperor Shih Huang Ti in 246 B.C. The texts are said to have been reconstituted after his short dynasty from the memories of scholars and from concealed copies of the classics; certain it is that somewhere about this time there is a serious break in the chain of tradition, and we find that statements of earlier scholars regarding the number of chapters, etc., in the classical books do not always tally with the text as now received. We are not obliged to believe that the destruction was as complete as the totalitarian-minded emperor may have wished; it is hardly credible, for instance, that the many solar eclipses noted by Confucius in his *Ch'un Ch'iu* (*Spring and Autumn Annals*) would agree as well as they do with modern astronomical calculations if the transmission of the book rested for any considerable number of years on the unaided memory of scholars. But the period before and after the reign of Shih Huang Ti was full of disorder, and must have been eminently conducive to the loss and corruption of manuscripts. On the other hand, no passage in the *Shi-Ching* can be pointed out which, from internal evidence of thought or language, can be definitely said not to belong to the ostensible date of its composition.

The oldest part of the *Shi-Ching*, the five *Festal Odes* of the Shang state printed at the end of the collection, may well date from the times traditionally assigned for their composition. It is not easy to see why, under the ensuing Chou dynasty, anyone should have forged works in glorification of its predecessor, or why, if that had been done, such forgeries should have been preserved. A possible escape from this difficulty lies in the fact that, after their destruction of the Shang-Yin power, the victorious Chou allowed the deposed family to retain the small state of Sung in order that their ancestral cult should not be cut off; the Shang odes may therefore well have been composed for those ceremonies, in which case the estimate of their antiquity must be drastically reduced. It is however to be noted that Karlgren finds a distinct cleavage between the rime system of the Sung odes and that of the rest of the *Shi-Ching*; unfortunately this fact also is susceptible of several interpretations, for the Sung rulers may well have retained

an archaic form of language solely for cult purposes. There is no reason to think that the language has been in any way modernised, but it remains possible that some rehandling may have taken place almost unconsciously during oral transmission or in transcription. We may therefore take these pieces as the oldest pieces of continuous writing in Chinese still extant, for although the *Shu-Ching*, or 'Documentary Classic', may contain matter really dating from the times to which its speakers are assigned (and Karlgren, indeed, has given good reason for the belief that its several parts show some development in language, indicating long intervals between the dates of composition of its several parts), yet the history of the text does not inspire trust in its verbal accuracy. The *Shi-Ching*, on the other hand, is to some extent protected by its rime and metre from mutilation in transmission, and, as such, it deserves closer examination. As regards the vocalism and final consonants, Pulleyblank has drawn attention to a feature of the *Shi-Ching* which it shares with modern Hakka, and which lies so far apart from the direct line of development of Chinese that it may be described as an 'aberrant' dialect.

The Odes show us a language in which the word order is little different from that of modern Chinese; such a sentence as /wɔ /ju -tɕia \k'ə, (180), 'we have honourable guests', might go word for word into any modern vernacular, and only the third word is no longer colloquially current. We do occasionally find inversions whereby the pronoun object precedes the verb, contrary to normal Chinese usage; e.g., from the same section of the *Shi-Ching*, \mo /kan /wɔ 'xo, (181), 'did not dare to withstand me'. We might have suspected that this departure was due to the exigencies of rime or metre had it not been that we find its counterpart in a piece of spoken prose (apocryphal, it is true, but all the same representing what disciples of Mencius could accept as prose), embodied in *Mencius*, V, 1: (182), \fu /mu -tṣɪ pu /wɔ \ai, 'my parents' not loving me'; and the same order is found in Chou dynasty inscriptions. It may well be that we have in such phrases a last relic of an original freedom of position inherited from the time when Chinese was an inflected language. This position of the pronominal object in a negative clause is regular throughout the Archaic period, as we may see in the *Analects* and other works of the Confucian school.

Karlgren's demonstration of a prehistoric inflectional stage of

Chinese is perhaps the most surprising of his discoveries. By an examination of the frequency with which two forms of the personal pronouns (183), *'wu*, and (184), /*wɔ* for the first person; (185), /*ɹu* and (186), /*ɹ* for the second) are used in the nominative and oblique cases respectively, Karlgren concluded that the dialect of Lu (southern Shantung) in which the philosophers taught, still retained traces of cases distinguished by suffixes. No such preponderating employment of one rather than the other form according to grammatical function can be shown for the much earlier *Shi-Ching*, nor for the *Shu-Ching* (*Book of History*), compiled by Confucius but presumably based on earlier sources of Central Chinese (Honan-Shensi) origin. We may conclude from this fact, furthermore, that the language of Lu differed from the Chinese of the more western areas at that time in preserving certain archaisms. The later literary language continued the indiscriminate use of the twin forms, or elaborated new distinctions, using, e.g. the last-named character, /*ɹ*, as a more distant and formal reference. Dobson, who also notes the difference in usage between the *Shi-Ching* and the *Shu-Ching* ('Early Archaic') on the one hand and Chuang-tsz and the Lu philosophers ('Late Archaic') on the other, appears to find the reason in a development of the language rather than in dialectal variation. This explanation is not so satisfactory, as it is not easy to understand how pronouns once used indiscriminately could have been later assigned to distinct functions, while the contrary development, the confusion of forms once held apart, is a well-known phenomenon,—in English and French, for example.

From the fact that these personal pronouns had separate written forms in certain of the older texts while no such duplication of written form is to be observed in the case of nouns, as well as from the absence in the *Shi-Ching* rimes of a twofold pronunciation of other words, we conclude that before the time of our oldest texts both nouns and verbs had already lost all trace of inflection, and had become as invariable as they have since remained.

Other evidence of former inflection (or composition) in Chinese comes from a different quarter. In a well-documented article, Tung Fan has recently dealt with the mutually contradictory meanings often found in one Chinese word. The classic example is the word (187), P. *luan*, which means both 'confusion', and 'to bring into

order'; the contradiction goes rather further than the mere ambivalence of such an English word as 'to rent', which can apply to the action of both lessor and lessee. To such a case Tung Fan adds a large number of examples in which contradictory meanings are expressed by words with more or less similar phonetic form; and he offers the explanation that such coalescences of opposites go back to a phase of Chinese when the language was in the process of losing the prefixes and suffixes which it once possessed. This is a highly interesting theory, and, although Tung does not make the point, it would, if it can be established, break down another of the distinctions which divide Chinese from Tibetan with its prefixes and suffixes.

Tung's evidences are not all of the same degree of validity, and in some cases, as, for instance, where he seeks to prove a dissyllabic pronunciation in certain characters in T'ang times by the fact that the same Sanskrit word is transcribed now by three, now by four Chinese characters, we must reject the suggestion. But it is otherwise with his application of the explanation to a somewhat numerous class of cases, in the *Shi-Ching* and other older literature, where the negative particle (as it is written) gives an impossible sense, denying what is said in the same or the succeeding line, and where old commentators have, in fact, annotated: 'not strong = strong'. In such cases, Tung, with considerable plausibility, would explain the intrusive particle as really the first syllable of a dissyllabic word, since reduced to the final syllable only. There are a number of such passages in the *Odes* where the sense appears to be improved by denial of all meaning to some syllables, and certainly of any meaning which the written character of the syllable can bear, or of that of any likely phonetic substitute.

As an example, we may take a well-known passage from the Confucian *Analects* (book xviii). A disciple wishing to discover in which direction Confucius had gone, asked an old gardener, and received a reply which Legge translates thus: '(Your) four limbs are unaccustomed to toil; (you) cannot distinguish the five kinds of grain;—who is your master?' This is, to say the least, somewhat inconsequential, and it can hardly be denied that it becomes more intelligible if we take the word (188), *pu*, translated as 'not', as simply a syllabic prefix of the following verbs, and read: '(My) limbs are employed in toil, (I) distinguish the five grains; (how should I know) who is your master?'

This theory of Tung Fan agrees well with the demonstration by Laufer that a prefix *a*-, still in regular use in some dialects before proper names of persons and monosyllabic terms of relationship used vocatively, is a relic of an older phase of Chinese; this particle is found as early as Han times, and combines also with the pronoun P. */ṣuei*, 'who?'. All these uses are repeated in Tibetan and Lolo. It would seem, therefore, that Chinese rid itself of its prefixes by simple apocope, leaving no phonetic effect on the word to which they were attached. We cannot however, exclude the possibility that dissyllables consisting of prefix plus 'root' were sometimes reduced by a process of telescoping the two elements into one syllable, as has happened in Tibetan. Przyluski and Luce have pointed out the necessity of assuming a dissyllable as the starting point of phonetic evolution if we are to trace the various forms of the word for 'a hundred' in Chinese, Tibeto-Burman, and T'ai languages to common source; and it is certainly equally difficult to explain the equation:

> Tib. *brgja:*   ACh. *pvk*, P. *'pa*, 'hundred', (189)
> *brgjad:*   *pwat*, P. *-pa*, 'eight', (190)

as a mere accident, and to suggest a monosyllabic form from which both languages might have diverged.

We have thus no clear demonstration that the Chinese monosyllables are compressed from earlier polysyllables; but a number of converging lines of argument which point to such an origin. The magnitude of the difficulties in the way of reconstructing the Common Sinitic, the parent language of Tibeto-Burman and Chinese, will be apparent when it is stated that in certain cases, as in the word for 'eight' (P. *pa*, as against Tibetan *brgjad*), Chinese has incorporated into the oldest traceable form what can be shown on the Tibetan side to be a prefix, unknown in other Sinitic languages; while in still other cases, Chinese appears to have a final consonant which, as nothing corresponding is to be seen in what is obviously the same word in its cognate languages, must be the remnant of a suffix added after Chinese had parted company with the Tibeto-Burman tongues.

If we leave aside Tung's theories, then we must admit that the language of *Shi-Ching* times was already fully monosyllabic, as the metre warrants; any inflections possibly surviving at that time certainly did not constitute separate syllables, for the metre will not

allow us to allot more than one syllable to each character. We note also the absence of 'homonymous' compound words, such as *'p'əŋ |ju*, (191), already quoted; that word seems first to occur in Mencius, though even there each part may have had nearly its full force. No auxiliaries are used to determine the tense of the verb. (Waley rather doubtfully claims certain particles as verbal auxiliaries, but admits that they often serve merely to fill up the metre, and I doubt whether it is ever necessary to postulate more than an adverbial meaning for such characters.)

The numerals come directly before the noun (occasionally, in the inscriptions, after the noun, when a number of objects of different kinds are enumerated); and without the intervention of a classifier. We note also in the *Shi-Ching* that prepositions, poorly developed in the language even now, are almost wholly absent; it is as if the verbs 'go', 'dwell', 'flee', etc., took the direct object of the place.

We know that phonetic change is not equally rapid in all stages of the history of a language, and that in certain conditions a language may remain static for very long periods; but we can hardly suppose that in the hundreds of years which elapsed between the earliest parts of the *Shi-Ching* and the beginning of the Archaic Period no syntactic or sound change occurred. But it is not possible to deal fully with the sounds of Chinese at this time. Our data for the sounds of Proto-Chinese are scanty; they reduce themselves in fact almost entirely to the old rimes, and therefore refer chiefly to the final parts of the words. For the initials we can at present do nothing better than to project back into this period the forms which we can establish for Archaic Chinese; which is as much as an admission that, when applied to the language of nearly a millennium earlier, they are highly speculative.

The rimes, however, taken in conjunction with the structure of compound characters, have yielded one very important result. A very high percentage of the words which, as far as any other evidence goes, would seem never to have had other than vocalic finals, are in this way shown to have had in the earliest attainable phase of Chinese final consonants, mostly velars, but in a few cases also dentals or labials. Thus (192), P. \lu, 'road', is compounded of the signific for 'foot' and the character (193), P. \ko, as phonetic; in Karlgren's view, both words must have had compound initials when the character was

put together, i.e., *gl-* and *kl-* respectively, and *lu* must have had a final velar other than the -*k* which has still survived in some dialects in the word *ko*. The word (194), P. *nei*, 'inside', is used to indicate the sound in (195), P. *na*, 'to insert' (C. _*na:p*), and we cannot doubt therefore that it was originally something like **nwab*.

Many of these words, when they later emerge into clarity, are seen to have the 'departing' tone (the fourth of the present Pekingese tones). After some hesitation, Karlgren came to the conclusion that the fall of the final consonant caused the change into that tone rather than the converse. The final consonants so lost could not have been the unvoiced occlusives which some southern dialects still pronounce, and which were still vigorous as late as Ancient Chinese of the sixth century A.C.; if they were we should not be able to understand their loss in one case and retention in the other. Karlgren imagines them as -*g*, -*b*, -*d*; Simon prefers to suppose voiced fricatives. Cogent reasons in favour of one or the other of these alternatives are not easy to find, for the indications of fricative finals seen in the representations of ACh. -*t* by -*l* in Sino-Korean belong to a much later age and are hardly relevant here. But it is clear that the consonants were not the ordinary -*k*, -*p*, -*t*; and analogy with the fate of initial stops would incline one to suppose that they were voiced, if Karlgren's views regarding loss of voiced initial occlusives be accepted.

The rimes of the *Odes* confirm many of the characteristics of the oldest Chinese as we deduce them from other sources. We note (196), ACh. -*pⁱuŋ*, P. -*fəŋ*, 'wind' riming with (197), ACh. ⁻*sⁱəm*, P. -*çin*, 'heart', as it still did in the following Archaic Period, and showing that at this ancient date the aversion from consecutive labials which is so conspicuous a feature of Chinese throughout its history had not yet produced its full effects for the former word must then have had the same final consonant as the latter. Other apparently imperfect rimes and certain peculiarities of orthography are probably to be set down to dialectal variations even at this early stage, as when words ending in -*n* rime with words in final vowel. Karlgren attributes this, and certainly rightly, to a tendency to nasalise the final vowel with loss of the final consonant. It is not necessary to suppose that this tendency has 'cropped up and flourished' from time to time in successive but causally unconnected movements; it seems more natural to suppose that the alternative (nasalised) pronunciation has always existed,

but has only now and again established itself in the written language, when the variety exhibiting it has become for the time literary. That great dialectal differences in pronunciations already existed at the time when the compound characters were formed is evident from the very large number of variants of the same word, as e.g. GS 467 *$p\lambda jw\partial n$, 1195 *$p\lambda ju\eta$, 'downy'. Serruys has succeeded in showing, with data derived from the *Fang Yen* (p. 156), how a line running roughly from the region of K'ai-feng in Honan province south-westwards to near Ichang on the Yangtsze separates ancient dialects to the west which, e.g., prefer dental finals from those to the east and south where other forms of the same words are found with velars as finals.

It is difficult to say anything definite of the tonal system of Proto-Chinese. In the *Odes*, rimes are (apart from the riming of words in ju-sheng with those which, as we have seen above, still had a final consonant but have since lost it and appear as 'departing' tones) generally of words agreeing in tone as well as in final consonant, as has ever since been the rule in Chinese verse. The corresponding tones in upper and lower series rime freely together; either the Proto-Chinese speakers were more conscious of cadence than of pitch, or the two tone series had not then diverged as far as they later did. But the exceptions, cases in which words in even, rising, and falling tones still rime indiscriminately among themselves, are too numerous to be everywhere attributed to exceptional later development, and we must infer that either the tones developed differently in different dialects even at that period, or the difference in tone was less conspicuous than it later became.

We have some fragmentary indications that Chinese in an earlier phase had a system of word formation; but the subject is a difficult one, because of the uncertainty as to whether a particular root was in origin verbal or nominal. One of the few facts which emerge clearly is that verbs with a transitive or causative meaning show a marked predilection for the upper tones, or for the consonantal initials which in the ancient language are associated with the upper range of tones. Conrady attributed this to the former presence of a formative prefix of which the upper tone (and its associated voiceless initials) is the only trace remaining in the oldest Chinese.

In his *Word Families in Chinese*, Karlgren produces a list, long

enough to carry conviction, of words which, when traced back to the limit of our resources, approach each other sufficiently closely in form, and are like enough in meaning, to be regarded provisionally as variants of one root word, modified by process of word formation or even to express grammatical function. In modern Pekingese and some other Northern Chinese dialects we see a process at work which may be a continuation of that which produced these variants in the early stages of Chinese: the word (198), P. '*ɤ*, originally meaning 'child', thence added to a noun with diminutive force (as are the words of the same meaning in Cantonese and the Min dialects), has become in the speech of the people almost indetachably welded to the noun, causing loss of final consonant where any existed, and ceasing to form a separate syllable. In this case, the diminutive meaning has become very much attenuated; but it is not impossible that some such fusion may have been the basis of the developments of such word families earlier in the history of the language.

In the 36 groups of words given by Karlgren with the suggestion that the alternations of initials and finals may here express grammatical function, we note ten cases in which a substantive in the upper tonal series corresponds to a verb (or adjective) in the lower, against only two instances of the contrary; thus:

(199), ArCh. **ts^iuŋ* 'a follower' : *dzʻiuŋ, 'to follow'
(200),   *pwəg*, 'the back': *bʻwəg*, 'to turn the back'.

The most noteworthy case of the opposite occurrence is that of the two pronunciations of the character (201); ArCh. **p^iwən* (P. *-fən*), as verb, 'to divide', and **b^iwən* (P. *fən*), as noun, 'a part, share'. There are, however, cases in which both noun and verb belong to the same tonal series; but such cases are not very numerous, if one may trust to their occurrence in so short a list.

Whatever may have been the precise phonetic path by which the final consonant which Karlgren restores as a voiced stop moved from the stage of occlusive to zero, there are good grounds for believing that the starting points were *-*ks*, *-*ts*, *-*ps* respectively. As Haudricourt has observed, the occlusive plus -*s* in certain languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula has resulted in the fricatisation of the stop, i.e., in -*x*, -*s*, -*f*; and in the Balti dialect of Tibetan -*x* answers to -*gs* of the classical language. Now, when we examine Chinese characters

having since Archaic times two pronunciations, Karlgren's *-k and *-g, etc., we see that many of these had also a distinction of meaning in correspondence with the two final sounds. Thus—

> GS 805 *ṕak*, 'bad': *ṕag*, 'treat as bad > hate';
>> 1034 *bjok*, 'to return': *bjog*, 'to repeat';
>> 496 *ṭ'jwɘt*, 'come out': *ṭ'jwɘd*, 'take out';

where the 'voiced' forms have a causative force, and—

> GS 801 *dak*, 'to measure': *dag*, 'measure of length';
>> 921 *djɘk*, 'to eat': *dzjɘg* '(act of eating >) food';
>> 1120 *ṕjok*, 'to bind': *ṕjog*, 'bond, contract',

where they seem to form verbal nouns corresponding to the verbs in voiceless finals. (Here we have retained Karlgren's restorations for ease of reference.) When words written with different characters are brought together the number of such pairs is very greatly increased. Now, these and other differences of meaning are just those which in Tibetan distinguish allied words with and without the -s suffix:

> T. *zab-pa*, 'to be deep': *zabs*, 'depth';
> *gtig-pa*, 'cause to drip': *t'igs-pa*, 'a drop';
> *spud-pa*, 'decorate': *spus*, 'beauty';
> *sbug-pa*, 'pierce': *sbugs*, 'hole';
> *mp'ro-ba*, 'emanate': *mp'ros-pa*, 'to diffuse' (trans.).

If it be accepted that at the time of the formation of the compound characters the forms in 'voiced' finals had progressed no further than the stages *-ks > *-kx, *-ts > *-s, *-ps > *-pf, it is the more readily understood why one writing should have been felt suitable for both words. It must, however, be added that not every pair of such words shows the above or any other distinction of meaning, for it seems that a tendency to use the two forms indiscriminately had set in from the time of our earliest records.

A recent study by Downer of the varying tones of a number of words as proved for the Han period shows the 'departing' tone in a large number of cases to be correlated with a derivative meaning, the basic sense of the word being in general retained by its form in one of the other tones. In most cases the forms with the departing or falling tone were later disused, but they survive in a few common words, as

GS 1044 /*hao*, 'good', but *hao*, 'to like'. So far as the cases where the basic form is jusheng, his results agree admirably with those explained in the above paragraph as well as with Karlgren's conclusions regarding the origin of the falling tone as set out earlier in this chapter (p. 121); but Downer makes it clear that the correlation holds equally well for words in nasal finals. It is not unlikely *a priori* that the latter also had a suffixed -*s*, as we find in Tibetan, though the suffix has left no trace except in the tone; alternatively we may suppose that the tonal contrast evolved phonetically in words with a jusheng basic form was extended analogically to those with nasal final consonants.

It is probable that the correspondence between the function and the phonetic form of the words in these cases would be found to be greater than appears, if we could eliminate from our lists those pairs whose resemblance is accidental; and if further investigations of the semantic development allows us to say more definitely in each case which of the functions is the more primitive. Karlgren emphasises that his groupings are purely tentative; and a few fortuitous correspondences are to be expected.

We may note, furthermore, that among the characters which show in the modern language two forms differing only in tone, there is a similar slight tendency for the substantival meaning to be associated with the 'departing' tone: thus (206), P. '*liaŋ*, 'to measure': *liaŋ*, 'a measure'; (147), P. -*tan*, 'to carry': *tan*, 'a load'; (207), P. /*ṣu*, 'to count': *ṣu*, 'number'. Here also, however, the rule cannot yet be clearly formulated, and it is easy to find cases where the position of the noun and verb among the tones is reversed, as in the sentence from Mencius: (208), P. '*waŋ tṣɪ* *pu* *waŋ* . . . -*fei* *pu* '*nəŋ* /*jɛ*, 'That Your Majesty ('*waŋ* as noun) does not rule (*waŋ* as verb) is not a matter of lack of ability'.

Besides these cases, Modern Chinese, and still more the ancient language, offers many instances of the use of the same character as both substantive and verb without even tonal differences. This appears to be especially frequent in the case of adjectives, which, as we have seen, were probably in origin verbal, so that the two uses are really transitive and intransitive uses of a verb. Mencius has: (209), P. /*tɕ'iŋ* '*waŋ* *ta* -*tṣɪ*, 'I beg Your Majesty to enlarge it'; and in the *Analects*, xiii, 9, we find: (210), *fu* -*tṣɪ*, 'enrich them' (*fu*

being normally an adjective, 'rich') parallel with (211), *tҫiao-tҫı*, 'teach them' in the following clause.

Maspero had, somewhat earlier than Karlgren's article quoted, taken up the question of morphological variants in early Chinese in a highly interesting paper where, after examination of a large number of cases in which characters with the same phonetic nevertheless show different initials in the modern language, he concludes that the constructors of the compound characters readily used the same phonetic where words began, e.g. with *kl-*, *ml-* and simply with *l-*. We have already seen (Chapter III and p. 120) how Karlgren restored an initial compound in the Archaic Chinese form of *lu* (192), 'road', on the basis of its phonetic *ko* (193), 'each'; but the number of instances in which, to accommodate all the variants, we should have to imagine unpronounceable combinations is not small, and this lends colour to Maspero's theory that the *-l-* constituted in the eyes of the character-makers the essential unity of the family of words. As many of the words thus written with one phonetic are also related in meaning and appear thus to be variants of one root, we are justified in drawing further the very interesting conclusion that in the Chou era when these compound characters were formed, the Chinese were still conscious of the occlusive parts of the consonantal clusters as in origin prefixes, the core of the word being that part which began with the *l-*; but we cannot infer that word formation by means of prefixes was still at that time a living process.

Maspero's theory is not entirely exempt from difficulties of its own. It solves admirably the problem which arises when we find, and this almost only in the case of compound consonantal initials, the same phonetic apparently shared by words beginning with *kl-*, *tl-*, *ml-*, where the ordinary rule that only consonants of one class (velars, dentals, etc.) are interchangeable seems to be violated. It also helps us to bring, as Maspero himself points out, a number of Chinese words nearer to their counterparts in T'ai, as—

(493)	ArCh.	**ɣluaŋ*	(Karlgren **g'waŋ*)	Siamese *hlɸaŋ*
(323)		**kluŋ*	(Karlgren **kuŋ*)	*gloŋ*

The prefixal system being, on this hypothesis, already decadent when it was thus accidentally noted for us, it is hardly an objection to say that, so far as any force is discernible in the prefixes, they seem

to share their meanings indiscriminately; but it may be a serious objection that the already large number of Chinese root-words having the second elements of consonantal groups (i.e., *l, m, n,* etc.) as initials is increased beyond the bounds of probability if all the cases where Karlgren has reconstructed compound initials, and a number where he has not, must be added to them.

Wulff, on the other hand, approached the problem from the side of the T'ai languages, and his interpretation of these phenomena differs somewhat from Maspero's; after demonstrating the existence of infixes in Siamese (and traces in other T'ai languages), he made an extensive examination of the words to which Karlgren has assigned Archaic forms with compound initials, and proposes to see in many of the Chinese forms where the consonantal group includes an *-l-* an infix etymologically corresponding to the Siamese infixes *-r-* and *-l-*.

This difficulty had also been fully appreciated by Bodman, who, like Wulff, seeks an explanation in an earlier **-l-* infix. The infix hypothesis, however, loses much of its plausibility when we note the great extension in Tibetan and Burmese of words in *l-* and *r-* (to both of which Chinese presumably responded with the one sound *l-*, possibly also with **λ-*) and of words which had *-l-* or *-r-* as the second element of an initial group; moreover, in many of these latter words, Burmese shows only *l-* or *r-*, with no trace of the preceding occlusive, so that it is much easier to suppose prefixation than infixation in the formation of the initial nexus in Tibetan. Again, it is not easy on the infixation theory to account for such alternative forms as Tib. *glud* and *blud*, 'ransom', or ArCh. (GS 1069) *ljoγ, kljoγ* and *mljoγ*, all meaning 'to bind round'.

GRAMMATA SERICA

Most of the above material has been drawn from Karlgren's great work *Grammata Serica*, in which he has, besides sketching the phonetic history of the language from Archaic times to modern Pekingese, assembled the known vocabulary of the oldest stage of that history in phonetic series linked by the common phonetic element in the compound characters, together with abundant references to early occurrences of the words dealt with. By so doing he has made available to students a vast body of material, much of which still awaits development, and has earned the gratitude of all concerned

with Chinese linguistic history. As so much of our knowledge is based on this work it will be useful to examine it in greater detail.

Karlgren was, understandably, conservative in his reconstruction of compound initial consonants, doing so only when the pronunciation recorded in the Ancient Chinese period showed otherwise irreconcilable values for an identical phonetic in the script, as in the case of ACh. *ko* and *lu* in GS series 766. It is, however, intrinsically improbable that a language having such combinations should have developed or retained them in so insignificant a proportion of its vocabulary. Since, therefore, it is by the mere accident that a *k-* word has an *l-* word written with the same phonetic part, so forcing the conclusion of an earlier **kl-* in the former, we are led to seek other instances where compound initials are probably to be restored. Thus, in GS 627, we have the ArCh. **k'liap*, 'satisfied', and in GS 630 **k'iap*, 'contented'. It would be bold to suggest with this one instance before us that we are dealing with the same word in two writings, and that in GS 630 also we must read **k'liap*. But fortunately we have two confirmations of our methods of approach. In the first place, we have in GS 630 also **g'iap*, 'to grasp', which must stand in relation to, though in its present form not identical with, GS 637 **ljap*, of the same meaning. Secondly, we have a very large number of such doublets and even triplets, as in GS 814 * *ʒjeŋ*, 'necklace', GS 823 **ljeŋ*, 'neck', and GS 831 **kjeŋ* and **g'jeŋ*, 'neck', which might be amended to * *ʒljeŋ*, **ljeŋ*, and **kljeŋ*, **gljeŋ* respectively; or in GS 651 **kjəm*, 'collar or lapel', identical with GS 652 **kjəm* and 655 **kljəm*, 'overlap of a robe'. It appears probable, therefore, that, at least for the Proto-Chinese time when many of the characters were compounded with phonetics or used chia-chie (p. 38), many more compound initials must be reconstructed if we are to have a full picture of the language.

Continuing our examination of the treasury of old forms in *Grammata Serica*, we note the paucity of words in labial finals as against their much larger proportion in classical Tibetan. This is correctly attributed by Karlgren to the fact that, even while the formation of phonetic compounds was in progress, the change, in certain circumstances, of **-p*, **-b*, **-m* into **-t*, **-d*, **-n* was still incomplete; it is for this reason that we find in GS 695 a phonetic in **-p* serving in the writing of words in **-t*, **-d*, as well as in **-p*, **-b*. The circumstances in which this phonetic change occurs might be

known as the law of consecutive labials, a law operative, as we shall see, throughout the history of Chinese, whereby a dissimilation takes place in one of the labials, vowels or consonants, involved. In series GS 695, e.g., *$njəp$ and *$nəp$ were tolerated, but a variant of the same root, *$nwəb$, because of its *-w-, was not, and changed to *$nwəd$, thereafter following the phonetic fortunes of words in dental finals. There are, however, many words in which dissimilation took two separate routes, producing doublets as in the word for 'pit, cave', which appears with its original labial final, but without the medial -w-, in GS 624 and 672, as *$k'əm$, and in GS 162 as *$k'wan$, with *-m dissimilated but *-w- retained; and it is by no means unlikely that in GS 698 *$k'vŋ$ we have again the same word in yet another guise, all equating with Tib. $gjam$, 'cave' (where, as frequently in Tibetan, -j- rests on an older *-w-). Such cases are very frequent indeed. GS 630 $k'liap$, 'box' $\sim$ 992 *$kljwəy$, GS 630 *$gliap$, 'seize' $\sim$ 778 *$kljwak$; GS 694 *$khljəp$, 'weep' $\sim$ 532 *$ljwəd$, 'tears'; GS 671 *$xləm$, *$k'ləm$ 'emaciated' $\sim$ 739 $^{?}lwaŋ$, idem, to cite only a few. The three different resolutions of the unacceptable combination must rest on a dialectal diversity, as do other cases of duplication to be mentioned later. The dialect which keeps the labial finals has two other traits marking it off from the rest, viz., a greater tendency to keep *k'- which other dialects tend to represent by *x-; and the retention of the initials *n-, *$ɲ$-, elsewhere, especially in the velarising dialects, converted into *l-. Both these latter peculiarities we shall meet with again in dealing with the southern dialects of modern Chinese.

Karlgren, as we shall see in the following chapter, reconstructed two grades of initial voiced stops and affricates, viz., *g-, *d-, *b-, *dz-, and the same sounds with aspiration added; of these, in his view, only the latter survived into Ancient Chinese. Of the unaspirated series we note two things: firstly, they occur only before the semivowel *-j- or before *-l- or a nasal (when compound initials are restored); and *b- is very rare indeed, appearing only before *-l-. One of the rare instances involving *b- is in GS 502 which contains words sounded in ancient Chinese $juet$, $ljuet$, and $pjet$; for these Karlgren reconstructed Archaic forms *$bjwət$, *$bljwət$, and *$pljət$ respectively. If Karlgren had accepted the medial -l- (with its allophone -λ-) as the common phonetic element, he must have restored ArCh. *$\lambda jwət$, *$ljwət$, and *$pljət$, which adequately accounts for the preservation of

the initials in the Ancient forms, whereas the solution adopted by Karlgren presents the anomaly of a word with a simple occlusive initial acting as phonetic for others with -*l*-. This and other difficulties are solved if we suppose two lateral sounds, the normal [*l*] retained everywhere except after an occlusive, and a palatalised form [λ] which vocalises into -*j*-. By this hypothesis we also obviate the still greater difficulty involved in Karlgren's hypothesis, that of crediting Archaic Chinese with four grades of occlusive consonants as against a maximum of three in the Tibeto-Burman languages; no explanation is offered for the emergence of the fourth range, Karlgren's unaspirated voiced stops. By far the simplest solution is to suppose that this range had no real existence, the binding material of a phonetic group residing in the medial consonant, *-*l*-, *-*n*-, etc., when these existed; and to adopt the suggestion of Wen Yu in another connexion that in its earlier stages Chinese possessed the two kinds of laterals. It at once becomes clear why, in Karlgren's reconstruction, *b*- is so extremely rare: as a bilabial immediately before a palatalised -*l*- it offered a combination by no means easy to pronounce; while its restoration before unpalatalised -*l*- is nowhere demanded if the -*l*- itself is the foundation of the phonetic series.

The view here expressed creates fewer problems than does the theory of Benedict that ArCh. (unaspirated) *g*-, *d*- arose respectively by the occlusion of *w*- and *j*-; the correspondences quoted by him are altogether insufficient to support such a thesis, which moreover loses all plausibility in cases where *-*l*- or a nasal intervenes between the supposed consonantal initial and the vowel.

One minor point remains for investigation; the fact that Karlgren, with very few exceptions, finds ACh. *j*- where in his view the ArCh. initial was *g*-, but merely *i̯*- in place of ArCh. *d*- demands an alternative explanation if we hold that his *g*- and *d*- are unnecessary figments. The distinction is not required to explain developments in modern dialects, except, apparently, in Sino-Annamese, where Karlgren's ACh. *j̯i̯*- gives fairly consistently *v*- and his *i̯*- > *z*-. Thus stated, neither is an obvious phonetic evolution, and we must look more closely at the conditions in which S.-A. *v*- and *z*- arise. If, leaving Karlgren's distinction aside, we divide the S.-A. words into those from ACh. forms with and without -*w*-, another pattern comes to light: those with -*w*-, whether from *j̯i̯w*- or *i̯w*-, show mostly S.-A. *v*-,

those without -*w*- a preponderance of *z*-. This *z*- appears to be introduced to avoid vocalic initials (rare in S.-A. except when coming from ACh. glottal stop), just as some NCh. dialects use *γ*-, *ŋ*-, etc.; it appears in some S.-A. words from ACh. *k*- or *m*-. S.-A. *v*- and *z*- represent respectively ACh. *jw*- and *j*- rather than *ẓ*- and *ẓ*-.

ArCh. **l*- and **λ*- probably derive from the Common Sinitic **r*- and **l*-, though it cannot yet be stated with certainty which is which. There are, however, some indications in classical Tibetan that *l* was more subject to palatalisation than *r*, and the correspondences **r*- > **l*- and **l*- > **λ*- may, very tentatively, be set up.

In the same way as with the supposed unaspirated voiced stops, there is no cogent reason to believe that the occlusive part of Karlgren's **dz*- ever existed, and the *ʒ*- of AnCh. may well have descended unchanged from ArCh. **ʒ*- or occasionally **ʒλ*-. The initial **z*- restored by Karlgren, e.g. in GS 89, cannot be differentiated in its later development from his **d*- in GS 83, and was in all probability equally unreal, the original initial being in both cases **λ*- > ACh. zero. For Karlgren's **ɲ*- Benedict proposed **zn*-, or its palatalised counterpart; this may be correct.

Another feature of Karlgren's great work of reconstruction which occasions some misgiving is the fairly frequent appearance of a nasal initial among occlusives and *vice versa*; in such cases Karlgren sometimes writes or suggests **tn*-, **dn*- (but never **kŋ*-, **pm*-, etc.). Now we have seen in the description of Tibetan (Chapter V) that there existed a nasal prefix, or possibly two such; and in a number of cases we find that words having nasal initials and sharing the same phonetic written element with words beginning with an occlusive answer very well to Tibetan words with these prefixes, e.g.

GS   27 **ŋwia*, **ŋwa*, 'false, deceive': T. *ŋgjur* (-*ba*);
    139 **ŋan*, 'river bank': T. *ŋgram*;
  1076 **njoɤ*, 'to tie': T. *ndogs* (-*pa*).

Also, there are instances where there is no occlusive initial in the series to offer a clue, as in GS 267 **mjwʊn*, 'ten thousand' (cf. also GS 902 *xmwəŋ*, 'numerous'): T. *mbum*, 'a hundred thousand' (where in the Chinese forms the consecutive labials have suffered dissimilation). In such cases we may therefore reconstruct, at least for the Proto-Chinese period when the characters were compounded, **ŋg*-,

*nd-, *mb-, leaving open the question whether the occlusive part had been already lost in the succeeding Archaic period.

As regards the finals, we cannot yet say whether the *-s suffix was appended to the nasals as in Tibetan, though, on the analogy of its effects when added to final stops, an evolution such as *-ms > *-mh > *-p is not unlikely, and would account for the number of cases where nasal finals occur in phonetic series based on a phonetic with final stop and *vice versa*. Nor can we do better in regard to the vocalism than to extrapolate the system which Karlgren inferred; it is obvious that little reliance can be placed on this when it is used to read words some five or six centuries earlier, that being roughly the time separating the earliest known writings from the *Shi-King*, and Pulleyblank's recent study has further shaken confidence in such an inference. Some instances, such as T. *skul-ba*, 'to exhort': GS 158 *k'jwən*; T. *k'ul*, 'district': 422 *k'wən*, 'earth'; T. *nor*, 'wealth': 94 *no*, 'a store'; T. *njal*, 'sleep': 9 *ŋwa*, would suggest that an original -r, -l give either -n or o in Proto-Chinese, and it may be that, as in Burmese, the result depended on the length of the vowel, though in the case of the Chinese equations this has yet to be proved.

We may fitly close this excursus by tabulating the sound system of Archaic Chinese as we are now able to restore it. It must be borne in mind that, while the general line of sound evolution is in many cases clear, we are seldom able to decide what precise stage had been reached by the time of Archaic Chinese defined as the standard language of the *Shi-King*. (Karlgren's reconstructions where they differ from those here adopted are given in brackets):

*k-, *k'-, *g- (g'-), *ŋ-, *x-, *ŋg- (ŋ-);
*t-, *t'-, *d- (d'-), *n-, *nd- (n-);
*ṭ-, *ṭ'-, *ḍ- (ḍ'-), *ṇ-, *ṇḍ- (ṇ-);
*ts-, *ts'-, *dz- (dz'-);
*l-, *λ- (g-, d-, z-), *s-, *z- (dz-), *ʃ-, *ʒ- (ḍ-);
*p-, *p'-, *b- (b'-), *m-.

Compound initials: *kl-, *k'l-, *gl- (g'l-), *ŋl-, *ml-;
*tn-, *t'n-, *dn- (d'n-), *sn-;
*ṭṇ-, *ṭ'ṇ-, *ḍṇ-, *ʒṇ- (ṇ-), *ṭλ-, *ṭ'λ-, *ḍλ-, *ʒλ-;
*km-, *k'm-, *gm- (g'm-), *xm-.

Final consonants: *-k, *-ks > -x > -γ (-g), *-ŋ;
  *-t, *-ts > -s > -z (-d), *-n;
  *-p, *-ps > -f > -v (-b), *-m.

The final -r which Karlgren restores in a fairly large number of cases does not appear to be really necessary to account for the facts of Ancient Chinese. The consonant would seem, as we see from synonyms under other final series, to be one of the degeneration stages which began from *-ks and *-ts; certainly many of his -r words are doublets of words recorded elsewhere with other final consonants; it is very doubtful whether any of them can be equated with Tibetan -r or -l.

Of the vowels it will be sufficient to say that in Karlgren's restoration they form a consistent system; with the exception of his å which, for reasons set out in Chapter VIII, we prefer to interpret as the diphthong [au], Karlgren's readings are adopted here.

THE VOCABULARY

It is convenient at this point to treat of loan-words in Chinese in general, although by far the greater number which we know to be borrowed came into Chinese in very much later periods. There are, however, a number of such words found in the most ancient texts which have been claimed as loans from other languages, and these are of peculiar interest, affecting as they do the most fundamental part of the vocabulary and not likely, as so many of the borrowings by Buddhist writers from Sanskrit, to be again disused with a change in the interests of the people. In contact as they have been during the earlier part of their history almost only with peoples of lower culture than their own, it is perhaps not surprising that the Chinese can be shown to have borrowed very few vocables from other languages. If the present or the ancient language conceals any considerable number of such borrowings, they have been so thoroughly accommodated in phonetics to Chinese, and our knowledge of the languages of neighbouring peoples of early times is so slight, that detection is difficult or impossible. Most of the languages from which such words may have been taken must have died out completely.

There is not known any sound or combination of sounds in Chinese which, like the initials ʤ- or v- in English, or p- or pf- in German,

would at once denounce the word in which it occurs as a foreign loan. This statement must be qualified, however, when applied to dialects other than Northern Chinese. For instance, no word regularly derived from one having in the ancient language an initial *m-*, *n-*, *ŋ-* or *l-* can have an upper tone in a modern dialect. An examination of 141 such words in Cantonese shows (by comparison with Pekingese) 40 anomalous in both languages, a number for which the criteria give no decision, and rather more than half of the total as purely local Cantonese words, with no correlatives in Northern Chinese, and open therefore to suspicion of alien origin. The presence, however, of a number of common words, tonally regular in the north but irregular in Cantonese in having sonant initials in upper tones (possibly by fixation of tonic variants) means that, while the suspicion is strong because of the large number of cases, it still falls short of the reliability required in a working hypothesis.

A few words of more than one syllable, and differing from the ordinary polysyllables in that the two or more elements not only do not now have, but seem never to have had, separate existence, may on the strength of this peculiarity be suspected of alien provenance. Among these is the word for 'glass', (212), P. *-po -li*, which is known to come from the Sanskrit *spahtika*, 'rock crystal', in the fifth century of our era, when glass manufacture was introduced into China. To the same category belong (213), P. *-po 'lo*, 'pineapple', and (214), P. \|*lo 't'o*, 'camel', and many others, mostly of later date.

It is at most a not unreasonable guess that the names of plants which must have been unknown to the Chinese when, as is probable, they lived in Kansuh before moving east into Honan, are likely to have been acquired from the pre-Chinese inhabitants of China. Among such words are (215), ACh. *ˌmiei*, P. *|mi*, 'rice', and (216), ACh. *⁻tsieu*, P. *-tɕiao*, 'banana'; with regard to the former one thinks of the Miao equivalent *mblɛo*, which, with the little we know of Miao phonetics, might well have given the Ancient Chinese form, while the contrary evolution (emergence of *-l-*) is less likely. The earliest account in literature of the cultivation of tea in China is of the sixth century A.C., but the word (1), P. *'tṣ'a*, by which it has always been known (or rather a character only slightly different in form, P. *'t'u*, and constantly confused with *'tṣ'a* in the older literature, being possibly an etymological by-form), occurs in the

Shi-Ching: 'Who will say that *'ts̩'a* is bitter? It is sweet as young wheat.' Here commentators agree that there is no reference to our tea, but rather to the sow-thistle or some such weed of bitter taste; the modern meaning of the word seems to have been acquired by extension to the tea-plant, which is native to the Himalayan botanical region, when the Chinese later became acquainted with it. A language does not always accept a foreign word for a new thing, and the process in the case of 'tea' in Chinese, appears to be the same as that which gave us our names for 'pineapple' and 'passion fruit'.

Words which may not improbably have come into Chinese from languages spoken in northern China before the subject populations were fully sinicised include the following examples, for which no plausible cognates are to be found in Tibeto-Burman, and where any suggestion of borrowing in the reverse direction, i.e., from Chinese into Miao, is rendered less likely by the existence of identifiable words in Mon-Khmer languages far removed from Chinese influence:

'Hate', GS 884 *tsəy*: *Mp'ou ns'uŋ*, Khasi *shun*, Riang *tsaŋ*, Palaung *tʃa:ŋ*;

'Hawk', GS 890, *ʔljəŋ*: HuaM. *klaŋ*, Khasi *klieng*, Bahnar, Riang, etc., *klaŋ* (The word occurs in Kachin, but not otherwise in Tibeto-Burman);

'Hear', GS 835 *t'ieŋ*: Green Miao *nøuŋ*, Mp'ou *nt'aŋ*, Bahnar *tøŋ*, Stieng and Biat *taŋ*;

'Mushroom', GS 982 *ndjəks*, Green Miao *ɲtʃi*, Khasi *tit*, Stieng and Biat *cet*, Sre *bəsit*, Old Mon *ptis*, Riang *tis*;

'Water', GS 790 *dlvk* (where the -*l*- is demanded by the presence of *λ- words in the same series): Green Miao *kli*, Bahnar, Biat, etc., *ʔdak*, Mon *ʔda:k*. (Here the word is specialised in Chinese to mean 'marsh, pond, to moisten').

In these few examples out of many, we have avoided words which appear to be common to Miao and T'ai. The words quoted against GS numbers have been restored to their probable Proto-Chinese forms in accordance with the principles outlined in the preceding pages. The word for 'ear', *ɲdʒi* in Green Miao, is puzzling because of its closeness to Chinese *ɲjəɣ* (GS 981); there are no clear resemblances with Austroasiatic words of the same meaning, while on the other hand

the Chinese form is not readily equated with the *na which seems to lie behind the several Tibeto-Burman equivalents.

It is long since Giles suggested a Greek origin, βότρυς (through the Greek kingdom of Bactria?) for (217), P. *'p'u 't'ao*, 'grapes', (the grape having been introduced into China as late as the second century B.C. from Central Asia); and a Persian one for (218), P. -$ṣi$, 'lion'; the Persian name is *fir*; lions are not native to China, and there is a high probability that the name is imported. The former word is, however, difficult to dissociate from P. *'p'u 't'i tsi*, which although its first element is written with a different character, interchanges with it in the dialects in the sense of grape as well as in that of rosary beads; and which is a Chinese adaptation of Sanskrit *bodhi*, 'pipul', or 'false banyan tree'. More recently, Hans Jensen, following Conrady, has claimed with some plausibility Indo-European origin for a number of Chinese cultural terms. Among them are: (219), P. *mi*, < ACh. _*m'et*, 'honey', which he would connect with Greek μέθυ, Latin *mel*, Eng. 'mead', etc.; (220), P. /*tɕ'yan* < ACh. *'k'jwen*, 'dog', cf. Latin *canis*, Eng. 'hound', with cognates in almost every Indo-European language; (221), P. /*ma*, < ACh. ˌ*ma*, 'horse' (which, if we may connect the Old Burmese *mraŋ* and forms like *broŋ* in certain Mon-Khmer languages, has lost an -*r*- sound in the course of its evolution), cf. Old High German *marah*, with cognates in the Celtic languages; (222), P. *jɛn* < ACh. ˌ*ŋan*, 'wild goose', cf. Latin (*h*)*anser*, Greek χήν, German *gans*, etc. The presence in Chinese of words of Indo-European—they might, of course, have been borrowed by both Chinese and Indo-European from some third language now no longer identifiable—need not surprise us so much as it does at first sight if we remember that not only was an Indo-European language. Tocharian, (probably the language of the tribe whom the Chinese knew as Yue-chi) spoken in Central Asia as late as the sixth century A.C., but also that an Iranian dialect, Sogdian, was spoken in western Kansuh till four hundred years ago. That the word for 'honey' should have come to China from an Indo-European source is furthermore not improbable, as the early speakers of Indo-European seem to have practised apiculture, which was never a common occupation of the Chinese; we remember also that the horse was primitively the domestic animal par excellence of the Indo-European tribes.

In (probably) more modern times, Chinese has drawn on neighbouring languages for many names of vegetables and fruits now naturalised in the country. It is noteworthy that many such names show the feature of polysyllabism, with inseparable components. Among these we number the Chinese word for 'apple', P. *'p'in |kuo* (less frequently *'p'in 'p'o*, where the *|kuo*, 'fruit', may have been substituted by 'popular etymology'), from Sanskrit *bimba*; *'mo-ku*, 'mushroom' (where, however, the second element is detachable), from Mongol *mugu* (or the corresponding form in another cognate language), Mongolia being one of the sources of the Chinese supply; as well as *'p'u't'ao*, 'grapes', already discussed.

For the investigation of this aspect of the growth of the Chinese language material is still very scanty; the philological criticism of the older literary texts with a view to establishing their authenticity and place of origin and the detection of later interpolations has hardly begun, and we are still very far from having adequate dictionaries recording the first appearance in literature of individual words and meanings. The regularity or otherwise with which a word follows the phonetic modifications in the dialects may give valuable evidence as to the date at which it first became current in those dialects; but this light fails us completely for the stages of the language before the Ancient Chinese period, and it is in those earlier times that the major part of the Chinese vocabulary was built up. Moreover, the fact that Chinese has a common literary language has the effect of masking the late entry of an expression into the dialects. An excellent example is furnished by the imported word 'coolie', which has come to Chinese through English. In writing this the Chinese make use of the characters (223), P. *|k'u \li*, which, beside giving to the speaker of Northern Chinese an accurate representation of the English sounds, have also the very appropriate meaning of 'hard (lit. 'bitter') effort'. When read by a Cantonese these two syllables are *'fu _lik*, taking the form which according to the strictest interpretation of the phonetic laws each would have had if the whole word had come into Chinese in the Archaic Period instead of in modern times. It is not surprising that Chinese speakers of southern dialects, seeing no resemblance in sound to the English word, and being satisfied with the superficial meaning of the several parts, deny the foreign origin of the word. If we did not know the date and the circumstances of the

introduction of the word into Chinese, it would have been very diffi-
cult to establish its alien origin merely on the basis of its written
form and pronunciations in the various dialects. It must be sup-
posed that Chinese conceals a number of such borrowings, where
foreign origin cannot now be even suspected.

For the centuries of which we have more or less complete know-
ledge, Chinese has shown itself notably unreceptive of foreign voca-
bulary; and this fact is due to several causes. Its phonetic poverty
makes it difficult for Chinese to take into itself a recognisable form
of a foreign word, and words of more than one, or at most two syl-
lables, are hard to harmonise with the general structure of the lan-
guage. The background of the immense classical vocabulary on
which it may at any time draw makes new loans so much the less
necessary. The introduction of a new word entails, for the sake of
clarity in the written language, the invention of new written forms
except in the comparatively few cases, such as /k'u \li (223), just
quoted, where existing words can be found to satisfy both sound
and sense. In the older language new characters were formed for this
purpose; such is the case of the words for 'camel' and 'glass' quoted
earlier in this chapter; but the more recently adopted -po 'lo, (213),
'pineapple', is still without a writing of its own and uses 'borrowed'
characters. While -po 'lo may be distinctive enough in speech, to
the Chinese reader, guided as much by the form of the character as
by its sound, any large increase in such borrowed writings would
rapidly make texts unintelligible, while uncontrolled invention of
new written forms would produce confusion.

If Chinese has been unusually sparing in its adoption of foreign
vocabulary, it has on the other hand contributed remarkably little
to western languages. One of the few cases in which it has been sug-
gested that the Indo-European languages took over a Chinese word
in prehistoric times relates to the resemblance between the Chinese
word for the pig, P. -tṣu (428), and the words 'sow', 'swine', and the
like in European languages. Here, however, Polivanov's equation be-
comes less plausible when it is noted that the initial sound of this
word was in Archaic Chinese a plain t-, which was not palatalised
until long after the European languages already possessed its sup-
posed derivatives. If we exclude Chinese proper names which have
acquired a general sense in European languages ('kaolin', 'silk',

'japan', etc.), Chinese words which have made fortune abroad, and further afield than its immediately neighbouring languages, may be reduced to a few names of vegetable products. Of these by far the most important is the word 'tea', of which English and most of the western European languages have the Min form, while the Cantonese or Northern Chinese form, 'cha' and the like, has established itself in the Peninsular languages, in Slavonic, and in Greek, besides most of the oriental languages. Others which will probably survive, though necessarily little used in the west, are 'pongee', 'lichee', 'wampee', 'riksha', 'gingko' (the last two through Japanese). The origin of 'typhoon' is disputed, but it was probably at least influenced and popularised by conformity with the Cantonese _ta:i \fuŋ, (224), 'great wind'. We exclude a number which are not really naturalised in English, being in fact part of the slang of Far Eastern residents, or used only in connection with Chinese history and superstitions.

Most of the words commonly used with special reference to Chinese institutions ('mandarin', 'coolie', 'candareen', 'catty', 'pagoda', 'junk', etc.) are not of Chinese origin, but derive from Malay, Portuguese, etc. The slight extent to which Chinese has been used to name things, even such as are thought of mainly in connection with China, invites explanation. It seems that Europeans on their way east had already picked up a sufficient vocabulary for most of the products and customs without European parallels which they met with in China, having found the same or similar things in countries which they traversed in their way there. But this cannot be the complete explanation, for European languages have never been careful to avoid duplication of words from different parts of the world. It seems probable that the reason is to be sought in the peculiar phonetics of Chinese, which made its words difficult to retain in the memory. China is one of the few parts of the world in which European residents do not as a matter of course acquire almost unconsciously a modicum of knowledge of the native language. The absence of cultural borrowings is explained, of course, by the fact that when intercourse between East and West became frequent and regular, the European countries had already reached a level of civilisation in which they had little to learn from China.

PROTO-CHINESE

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THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The date, 500 B.C., chosen as the close of the Proto-Chinese and the opening of the Archaic Chinese period, falls near a turning point in the political as well as in linguistic history of the country. The great Chou empire was then finally crumbling; feudal lords intrigued and warred against each other, treating the titular emperor as a mere puppet. The frontier states of Ch'u and Wu (the middle and lower Yangtze valley respectively) became powerful at the expense of the more purely Chinese areas. The time plainly foreshadowed the rise of a new power which would unify the country and make an end of the increasing anarchy.

Such a power arose with a new dynasty. The ruler of Ch'in (roughly, modern Shensi), a semi-barbarian frontier state which had till recently preserved human sacrifices and other usages by then abhorrent to the Chinese of the more central states, made himself the first emperor of the Ch'in dynasty. His work was continued and confirmed by his successors, especially by the fifth of his line, known to history as Shih Huang Ti (221–209 B.C.). This remarkable man, who has received less than justice from Chinese historians on account of his ruthless treatment of the scholars, whom he seems to have regarded as by nature reactionaries, completed the destruction of the feudal régime and the centralisation of Chinese power. It is not strange, therefore, that it was in his time that China first became known to the western world, or that the name of his dynasty should have given rise to that by which China is still known in most languages. (This etymology has more recently been called in question, but not, it seems, definitely disproved.)

The semi-barbarian origin of the ruling house, and the decline in social importance of the old aristocracy with the abolition of feudalism, are the probable occasions of a number of developments which the language underwent in this period. The governing power was now in the hands of men who did not inherit in all its purity the old aristocratic speech; and it was the language of the new rulers which

gave the norm of the new period in the form of a progressive movement away from the old standard. The Archaic Period was, to all appearances, one of more rapid and more fundamental changes than its predecessor.

The Han dynasty (231 B.C.–A.D. 221) made complete and definite the breach with the old aristocratic system. It now seems that the system of appointment to offices of state on the results of competitive examinations belongs to a later period, but it is certain that the Han emperors gave high posts to persons of comparatively humble origin. The military expeditions of its sixth emperor, Wu Ti, culminating in the capture of Canton in 111 B.C., gave great territorial extension to the language. Chinese was now the dominant tongue in all that region now known as China Proper, the Eighteen Provinces of a later age. It had, in all probability, already in the preceding period affected the ancient states of Ch'u and Wu, at least to the extent of becoming their literary and cultural language; for Sun Wu dedicated his treatise on military tactics, in Chinese, to the king of Wu, and we have Ch'u inscriptions, difficult of interpretation because of their many strange characters which possibly represent local words, but nevertheless showing the use of Chinese in that area.

We are now on firmer ground as regards the language. Texts of the period are abundant, though the earlier ones must be used with caution because of the recorded destruction of all known copies by Shih Huang Ti, and the consequent possibility of faulty transmission. In the easy style of the records concerning Confucius and Mencius, and in the still easy but more careful writings in the formal treatises of their school, we see a great advance on the terse, gnomic style of Sun Wu. Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27–97) represents a further step towards classical prose. In his essays we see, probably for the first time, the appearance of classifiers in such a sentence as (225), P. *'jaŋ /wu 't'ou -tɕiai /sɤ*, 'all five sheep died'. He uses synonym doublets with purely ornamental effect, expressing the same idea by two syllables or by one as best suits the rhythm of the phrase, and often in consecutive sentences. He exhibits plain examples of balanced phrases with equal number of syllables. There is little reason to believe that, apart from such artifices, the language of these authors differed greatly from that spoken by scholars of their time.

Karlgren has acutely proved that such a phrase: (226), P. *'tɕ'ən -tɕɪ 'tɕ'i· pu /k'o*, 'I, your servant, know that it is not allowable', of purely literary aspect now, was in Han times current speech, at least in court circles.

Further research will probably enable us to date more accurately the important changes in language during this period, and to break
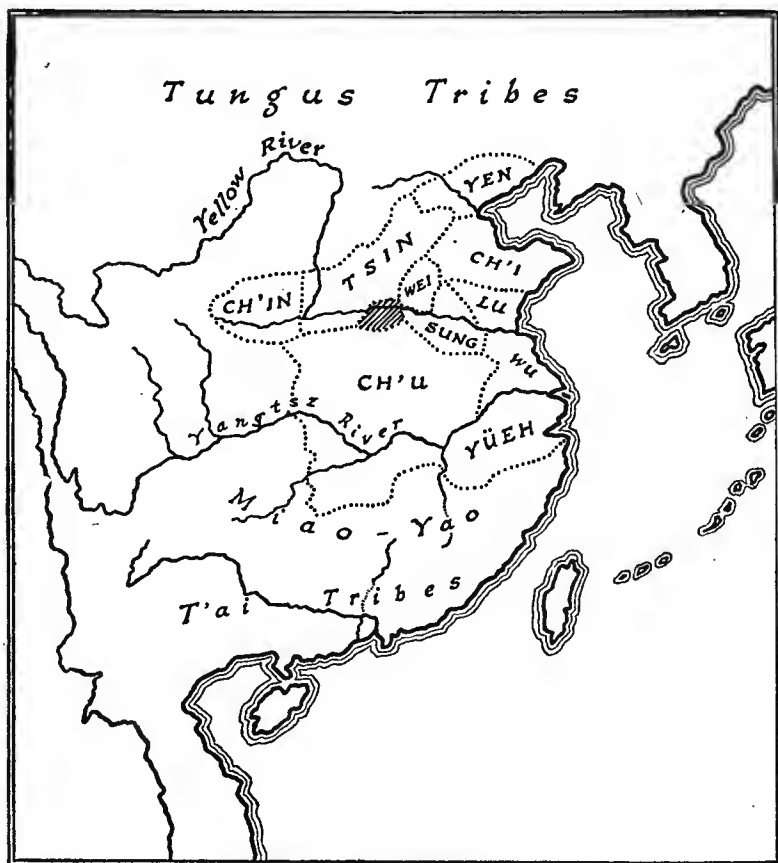
CHINESE TERRITORY IN LATE CHOU TIMES (THE HATCHED
PORTION REPRESENTS THE IMPERIAL DOMAIN)

up the period into shorter and more manageable sections. It was during the early part of this period that the majority of phonetic compounds were formed in writing, and the sounds implied by the groupings of words to share a common phonetic part show us a

phonology very different from that which we gather from the *Ts'ie-yün* dictionary which comes just after the end of the period. We do not yet know whether the changes were gradual and brought about by the slow adoption into the standard language of changes already complete in a regional dialect, or in the speech of another social level; or whether they were sudden and revolutionary, and connected with the rise to prominence of a new dynasty and a more democratically chosen official class. If the transition was sudden it is more likely to have been connected with the rise of the Ch'in dynasty or with the abolition of aristocratic government than with other events of this period, and the author of the *Ts'ie-yün* did nothing more than register without innovation the language as he found it in use among the best speakers of his day. What, therefore, we have to say concerning the Archaic language will apply mainly to the earliest part of this long era, the times of the great social philosophers and their immediate successors, and the time of Li Si's codification of the orthography.

The features of pronunciation in which Archaic Chinese differs most conspicuously from the Ancient Chinese of the following period refer principally to the initial consonants, for we have no reason to think that the final occlusives deduced from rimes in the *Shi-Ching* and from the earliest compound characters survived far into this period. If, as Karlgren concludes, the loss of these final voiced stops—or rather fricatives, in our view—is connected with the development of the falling ('departing') tone, (the fourth tone of modern Northern Chinese), then we must suppose that that tone had by now appeared in the language, if it did not already exist in words ending in nasals, or which never had a final consonant at all.

A few examples have already been quoted (in Chapter III) of words which we must believe at the time of the formation of the phonetic compounds to have had initial consonants, and in which such consonants are now heard, if at all, only in some of the southeastern dialects. Enigmatic forms appear in the more archaic dialects of Fukien: (227), 'a fly', ACh. _jəŋ, P. /jiŋ, but Sw. /sin; (228), 'wing', ACh. _jək, P. \i, but Sw. ⁻sit. In these cases Karlgren gives as the Archaic forms *djəŋ and *gjək respectively (the latter of which should certainly in his system be *djək, since no j- appears in ACh. _jək). In these cases we must now read ArCh. *λjəŋ and *λjək, an

accentuation of the fricative character of the initial together with devoicing accounting better for the *s*- initial in Swatow.

In GS 523 and 524 we find a word for 'porcupine' restored by Karlgren as ArCh. **gjwɔd*, in GS 524 with an additional meaning 'category, class'. Now, GS 524 (P. *wei*, *huei*) has in Cantonese two pronunciations, *ɟɶi*, which cannot be derived from the ACh. form, and a more regular _*wai*; and *lɶi* is the Cantonese pronunciation also of GS 529 **ljwɔd*, 'class, category', which can be no other than an alternative form of the same word. If now **λjwɔd* be restored in GS 523, and both **λjwɔd* and **ljwɔd* (as variants) in GS 524, the evolution becomes clear, though the Cantonese form cannot, of course, have come through the Ancient Chinese of the *Tsʻie-yün*.

A few further examples to illustrate the restoration of these Archaic initials may here be given:

(229), 'leaf', ACh. _*jɛp*, P. *jɛ*; connected with (230), 'plate' ACh. _*dʻiep*, P. ʼ*ti* < ArCh. **λjap* and **dliap* (GS 633).

(231), 'young rice', ACh. _*je*, P. ʼ*i*; cf. (232), 'much', ACh. ⁻*ta*, P. -*to* < ArCh. **λia* and **tla* (GS 3).

(233), 'glory', ACh. _*jʻwvŋ*, P. ʼ*juŋ*; cf. (234), 'bereft', ACh. *gʻjwɑŋ*, P. ʼ*tɕʻiuŋ* < ArCh. **λjweŋ* and **gljweŋ* (GS 843).

(235), 'territory', ACh. _*jʻwɔk*, P. *jy*; cf. (236), 'country', ACh. ⁻*kwɔk*, P. ʼ*kuo* < ArCh. **λjwɔk* and **klwɔk* (GS 929).

(237), 'easy', ACh. ₁*ʻe*, P. *i*; cf. (238), 'give', ACh. *siᵉ*, P. *tʂʻɪ* < ArCh. **λjeɣ* and **sliek* (GS 853).

(239), 'entice', ACh. ₁*jɔu*, P. /*jou*; cf. (240), 'flourish', ACh. *sjɔu*, P. *ɕiu* < ArCh. **λjoɣ* and **sljoɣ* (GS 1095).

We have direct evidence of the existence of these old initials about 400 B.C., when in one of his discourses (III, 3) Mencius makes a sort of pun: 'The name ʼ*ɕjaŋ* (241) indicates nourishing ((242), P. *jaŋ*) as its object; *ɕiao* (243) indicates teaching ((244), *tɕiao*); *ɕy* (245), indicates archery ((246), *ʂɔ*)'. This would have been unintelligible to his hearers (for the words are represented as being spoken, not written) if at that time /*jaŋ* had already lost its initial consonant, or if the initial consonant of *ɕiao* had already become the fricative *γ* as we see it to be in the end of our period; or if *ʂɔ* had already declined from an affricate to a fricative initial. The fact that the last pair are written with different phonetics proves that it was

not a mere 'eye-pun'—of which Chinese is quite capable. Moreover, the third pair assures us that \ɕy, which in Ancient Chinese was ̠zjwo, had at this time a as its final vowel, so as to rime with \ʂə, which was ACh. ⁻dʒ'ⁱa, thus confirming what is said hereunder of the history of the ACh. final -uo. If now we substitute the probable Archaic values of the graphs the play on words becomes much clearer: (241), *dljaŋ— (242), *λjaŋ; (243), *gloγ— (244), *kloγ; (245), *zljoγ— (246), *ḍλjay. In the case of the last pair we have, moreover, confirmed, what can be concluded from other evidence, that GS series 83, restored by Karlgren with vocalic finals, once ended in velar fricatives.

It must have been some time towards the end of the Archaic period that Chinese simplified its old initial consonantal groups which, like Tibetan and the rest of the related languages, it once possessed. Our evidence for this statement is to be found in a work called *Shih Ming*, 'Explanation of Names', by a scholar Liu Hsi who flourished *c.* 200 A.D., and who presumably used either the dialect of his native Shantung or the standard of the later Han dynasty. In this work he explains the meaning of over 1,000 common words, and, what makes his book valuable for our purpose, does so by means of like-sounding, words. A close scrutiny of his standard of similarity shows that he with rare and only provisional exceptions, chooses words with compound initials to elucidate words with similar compounds; when he departs from this rule it is to preserve at least the medial element (-*l*- or a nasal). When he brings together words reconstructed by Karlgren with different members of his disappearing voiced stops, e.g. in explaining a word *dju* by one *gjug* (in Karlgren's restoration), it is found that there is invariably reason to suppose an initial *λ- on both sides, the *d- and *g- being an unnecessary hypothesis. The relative freedom with which Liu Hsi brings together words with and without final voiced consonants, as in the case just quoted, would indicate that these fricative endings were already tending to disappear in pronunciation, if not completely obsolete. From his insistence on the second element of the Archaic compound as the bond of union it may seem that, like those who in Proto-Chinese or Archaic times framed the phonetic compounds, he appreciated the preceding occlusive or fricative initial as a mere prefix.

The word (254) is especially interesting in the light which it throws

on the sequence of sound changes. It has in modern times two pro-
nunciations, viz., P. |*pin* and |*lin*; in the dialects which have not
lost the old final -*m* the latter form, but not the former, ends in -*m*;
C. '*pan* and ₁*lam*. To these two forms correspond two meanings:
'to receive', i.e., generally, and 'to receive an allowance of grain from
a government granary'. They go back to the ACh. '*pⁱəm* and ₁*lⁱəm*
respectively. Now from what we have just seen we are able to say
that in Archaic Chinese times the former word had a compound
initial, i.e., they were respectively **pljəm* and **ljəm*. This is another
case of the law of consecutive labials; final -*m* was no longer tolerated
in the former word because of its **p*-, while the latter, having no labial
initial, had no occasion for dissimilation.

We have a few instances in which the former element of the nexus
was a fricative; of this group is (255), 'black', ACh. ⁻*xək*, P. *xə*,
with its correlative (256), 'ink', ACh. _*mək*, P. *mə*; for the former
we must suppose in the Archaic Period *xm*-, while the latter had only
the simple root consonants; cf. Tib. *mog-pa*, 'dark-coloured'.

In forming the phonetic compound it was, apparently, rare to use
a phonetic part beginning with *k*- or *k'*- to build up the character
for a word with the initial fricative *x*-, or vice versa. Yet we find in
Ancient Chinese numerous instances of words in *g'*- and *γ*- made
from the same phonetics. This alone suggests a problem; and the im-
pression is fortified when we find that *g'*- occurs in Ancient Chinese
only in words where it is followed by -*j*-, and *γ*- only in other cir-
cumstances. The only reasonable interpretation of these facts is that
ACh. *g'*- and *γ*- were once the same, but diverged according to the
nature of the sound which followed. It is therefore fairly certain that
in the Archaic Period both had the sound *g*-. We conclude that the
change of *g*- to the fricative when followed by a back vowel was
accomplished in the early centuries of our era since; whereas the early
Buddhists found the syllable pronounced in Archaic Chinese **gəŋ*
(ACh. _*γəŋ*, P. '*xəŋ*, 'constant') suitable to express the first part of the
name of the river Ganges, the famous pilgrim Hsüan Ch'uang, who
was born in A.D. 600 and who had himself been in India, preferred to
use a word which in his time sounded *g'ⁱŋ* (<ArCh. **giaŋ*: P.
ʦiŋ, 'quarrel'), although the vowel sound must have been less
satisfactory.

From the frequency with which certain dental initials kept distinct

by the author of the *Ts'ie-yün* dictionary are nevertheless used, to a greater or less extent, promiscuously in making the sounds of the characters, it is concluded that Archaic Chinese had fewer distinct sounds in this region than did the Ancient Chinese language. Of the commoner interchanges we may instance the following:

- (GS 618) *t-*: *ṭ-* (257), 'spot', ACh. *'tiem*, P. */tiɛn*:: (258), 'stop', ACh. ⁻*ṭam*, P. *-tṣan*.
- (GS 45) *t-*:*tʃ-* (259), ACh. *'tʃⁱa*, P. */tṣə*:: (260), 'town', ACh. ⁻*tuo*, P. *-tu*.
- (GS 1219) *ts-*:*tṣ-* (261), 'foot', ACh. ⁻*tsⁱwok*, P. *'tsu*:: (262), 'seize', ACh. ⁻*tṣauk*, P. *-tṣo*.
- (GS 618) *ṭ-*:*tʃ-* (263), 'stop', ACh. ⁻*ṭam*, P. *-tṣan*:: (264), 'usurp', ACh. *'tʃⁱæm*, P. *tṣan*.
- (GS 45) *t-*:*ʃ-*, (265), 'town', ACh. ⁻*tuo*, P. *-tu*:: (266), 'wasteful', ACh. ⁻*ʃia*, P. *-ṣə*.
- (GS 686) *tʃ-*:*ʒ-*, (267), 'juice', ⁻*tʃⁱəp*, P. *-tṣɪ*:: (268), 'ten', ACh. ₋*ʒⁱəp*, P. *'ṣɪ*.
- (GS 1029) *s-*:*ṣ-*, (269), 'lodge', ⁻*sⁱuk*, P. *su*:: (270), 'shrink', ACh. ⁻*ṣiuk*, P. *-ṣu*.
- (GS 147) *t-*:*ʒ-*, (271), 'single', ACh. ⁻*tan*, P. *-tan*:: (272), a surname, ACh. ₍*ʒⁱen*, P. *ṣan*.

Now, we have seen in dealing above with the velars that the stop and the fricative were not ordinarily felt by the framers of the compound characters to be near enough in sound to each other to share one phonetic; we rarely find that one phonetic can stand here for *k-*, there for *x-*; and we have explained away the case of *g'-* and *γ-*. It is only reasonable to expect to find the same clear-cut distinction among the dentals; and we do find, in fact, that *t-* is kept distinct from *s-*. Yet we find *t-* sometimes interchanging with *ʃ-*. If, however, we examine the fate of these *ʃ-* words in the modern dialects, we find that, whereas some of them are represented by *ʃ-* or some such sound in all dialects, the affricates reappear in a very large number, especially in the more archaic dialects of the south. This is the case with the word *-ṣə*, 'wasteful', quoted in the above list, which in Cantonese is *'tṣ'ɛ*. The peculiar-looking alternation *t-*:*ʒ-* is explained by the derivation of the latter from an Archaic Chinese **ʒn-*, the **t-* similarly coming from **tn-*, GS series 147 having a con-

cealed *-n-, *-ɲ- as second part of a compound initial; this nasal must be restored by comparison with other series, e.g., GS 147 *ṭɲjan, 'to fear': 152 *ɲjan, *id.*; GS 147 *ṭɲjan, 'to heat': 152 *ɲjan, *id.*, and many more.

From all this we may conclude that, among the dental occlusives and affricates, Archaic Chinese had only the following classes:

1. *t-*, which before *j* (or *i* as a subordinate vowel) and the vowels which became ACh. *a*, *ʌ*, *æ*, and *au*, was palatalised in Ancient Chinese into *ţ-*; and

2. *ţ-*, which received a fricative element, giving ACh. *tʃ-*; and

3. *ts-*, the purely dental affricate. (In each case there were, of course, the corresponding aspirates and voiced forms in addition.)

The position of the plain fricatives *s-*, *ʃ-*, etc., of Ancient Chinese, is less clear; in some cases, as (273), ACh. *'ʃwi*, P. */ʂuei*, 'water', the Min dialects demand an affricate, *tʃ'-*, at some earlier stage; and the restoration of an affricate would bring this word nearer to the Tibetan *tʃ'u*. But in other cases Tibetan seems to demand the plain fricative. The facts are compatible with the idea that Archaic Chinese (or Proto-Chinese?) had the same dental initials as Classical Tibetan and no others; but they are susceptible of other interpretations also, such as that in the last paragraph, and we have no right at present to assume that Tibetan kept these sounds unaltered from the age of Common Sinitic.

The vowels of Archaic Chinese seem to have been generally similar to those of Ancient Chinese times, but there are one or two changes to be inferred from the character formation and from the rimes. A number of cases like (274), 'not', ACh. *'p'ǝu*, P. */fou*, having the same phonetic part as (275), 'cup', ACh. *⁻puai*, P. *-pei*, indicate the former existence of an unstressed *i* after the *u* of the former word. The Ancient Chinese final *-uo* had two origins, from *-u* and from *-ua*, kept apart in the formation of the compound characters but later merged in one sound. Similarly, it seems strange that (65), 'I', ACh. *ᶦŋa*, P. */wo*, should have been chosen to make the sound of (276), 'righteousness', ACh. *ŋjie* (where *-i-* bore the stress), P. *i*. This is to be explained by an ArCh. *ŋia for the latter word, a transference of stress in the triphthong from the *a* to the *i* having taken place during our period, with consequent lightening of the final vowel.

Simon, using more freely than does Karlgren the method of comparison of Chinese root words with Tibetan, finds evidence for the existence in Archaic Chinese times of other consonantal compounds among the initials, and in many instances his reconstructions find support in the script. Thus Karlgren gave for the character (277) 'force', P. \ɡɪ, an Archaic value *fʲad (cf. Tib. ʃed), and for (278), hot', P. \ʌə, which shares the phonetic element with it, ArCh. *ɲʲat. The Archaic sounds of the two are brought much closer together if, with Simon, we accept snj- as the initial of the former, znj- of the latter, or, better still, accept the uncompounded *nj->*ɲ- for the Archaic ancestor of Pek. \ʌə, 'hot'. In other cases, of course, AnCh. ɲʐ- may come from a primitive group *ndʐ-, the second development being then analogous to the case of (267), *mbjum > *mjwvn explained in Chapter VI, p. 131. In yet other cases, words with ACh. initial ɲʐ- and with ACh. t- or ʈ- also have the same phonetic, as in the case of (25), 'ear', P. /ʌ, ACh. ˌɲʒi, and (279), 'shame', P. /tʂˈɪ, ACh. 'ʈˈi; and Simon's hypothesis of an Archaic initial group tnj- in such cases makes the connection more acceptable.

There being, as we have seen, no reason remaining to suppose the existence of disappearing voiced occlusives so long as the latter part of a compound initial is that which gives its coherence to a phonetic group, we may summarise the facts regarding dental nasals as follows:

Unpalatalised		Palatalised	
ArCh. *tn- > ACh. t-		ArCh. *ʈɲ- > ACh. ʈʃ-	
*tʻn- >	tʻ-	*ʈʻɲ >	ʈʃʻ-
*dn- >	d-	*dɲ->	dʒ-
*sn- >	s-	*ʃɲ- >	ʃ-
*zn- >	z-	*ʒɲ->	ɲʒ-
*n- >	n-	*ɲ- >	ɲʒ-

It was not till much later than the character-building age that the Chinese, educated in this by Sanskrit-speaking Buddhist missionaries, became skilled phoneticians; and when, therefore, we find a phonetic part used to compose two different written signs, it is reasonable to suppose that there was between the two words a resemblance in sound obvious to scribes with no special phonetic training.

The vowels reconstructed for the Archaic language are: i e ε a
a $ɔ$ o u and $ə$. (Regarding the vowel given here as $ɔ$, see the
reasons given in the following chapter for supposing it rather to have
been the diphthong au.)

The vowels, except $ə$, might be short or long, and formed diph-
thongs and triphthongs with j or w (more or less consonantal or
vocalic) as the first element. In the passage to Ancient Chinese the
stress in such combinations tended to move backwards to the first
element, and this may have been the proximate cause, in its earlier
stages, of the vocalisation of the old final voiced occlusives and of
the loss or weakening of some final vowels. Pulleyblank has recently
propounded a simpler system of vocalism for Archaic Chinese, which
has the merit of bringing it closer into line with its Tibeto-Burman
relatives; one will, however, demur, as he foresaw, to his suggestion
of such final groups as -rm, -rk, at least till supporting evidence of
their occurrence from related languages is adduced.

The changes which the Archaic sound system underwent in its
passage into Ancient Chinese may be summarised as follows, with
omission, necessarily, of many of the finer points.

All compound initials were simplified by elimination of the nasal
or lateral (*-l-, *-λ-) part, thus: *kl-, *tl-, *pl- $>$ k-, t-, p- respectively
(and the aspirated, voiced, and palatalised forms correspondingly);
*xm- $>$ x-, *sn- $>$ s-; a nasal followed by *-l- in an initial group
survives while *-l- is lost. The palatalised initial *λ- is also lost,
leaving its trace in ACh. j-. Simple occlusives remain unchanged in
initial position, except that (i) *t- when followed by *-i- as a semi-
vowel forming the subordinate part of a diphthong was palatalised to
$ţ$-; (ii) *$ţ$- developed into the affricate $tʃ$-; and *s- and *ts- were
retroflexed before [a] vowels, and *t- became palatal in the same
circumstances; here again the aspirates and voiced stops developed
in the same way. This last change, palatalisation, was a late one,
falling just within our period; its lateness is shown by its occurrence
before the diphthong [au] $<$ *u when followed by a velar). Initial
*g- remains before the semi-vowel [i], but otherwise $>$ γ.

The nasal finals show few changes, but -m following -u- $>$ $ŋ$.
(The -m following a labial initial was not dissimilated till long after
the Ancient Chinese of the sixth century.) The final fricatives evolved
from Proto-Chinese *-ks, *-ts, *-ps and written by Karlgren as -g,

-*b*, -*d* were lost early in this period, the second having been assimi-
lated to -*d* already before the last parts of the *Shi-Ching* were com-
posed; -*g* and -*d* were vocalised, the latter invariably to -*i*, the former
to -*i* or -*u* according to the timbre of the preceding vowel, and dis-
appearing after -*a*-. As -*ag* and -*aɡ* both give ACh. -*a* while the
same words in the *Shi-Ching* rime with words with an *o* vowel,
Karlgren has found it necessary to suppose a special *Shi-Ching*
dialect, parallel with that deduced from the character formation,
the latter being that continued in standard Ancient Chinese. The
hypothesis is perhaps unnecessary, and the connected supposition
of a glottal stop to replace -*g* (-*γ*) in that dialect not only destroys the
parallelism between the evolution of the velar and other final stops,
but involves also the belief that the velar final alone was devoiced; it
seems also to run counter to all tradition regarding the *Shi-Ching*, a
collection of odes drawn from all parts of the Chinese domain, for one
can hardly believe such a collection to be unanimous against the
'official' dialect. The difficulty may be overcome if we suppose that
-*g* (-*γ*) after *a*, as after back vowels, developed the on-glide *u*, and that
the next steps were: -*auγ* > -*ɔγ* (at which stage rime with the *o*
vowel is quite permissible); this -*ɔ* or -*au*, when the fricative was
lost, would regularly become ACh. -*a*. (The demonstration by Karl-
gren of a special poetic diction used in Archaic times in the *Shi-
Ching* hardly requires the assumption of a different pronunciation
in poetry. The poet who composed in an alien dialect because that
dialect was felt appropriate to poetry need never have uttered the
words with any sounds than those of his own native place.)

Most of the changes in the vowels between Archaic and Ancient
Chinese are attributed to the palatalising influence of a preceding
-*i*-. There are in the case of some vowels two degrees of palatalisa-
tion; when, e.g., the *i* is the subordinate member of an ascending
diphthong (i.e., a semi-vowel), *a* > *ɛ*, but if the *i* is fully vocalic, then
ArCh. -*ia*- > ACh. -*ie*-. The chief spontaneous movements were
the development of on-glides before *u* and *o* vowels (*o* > *uo*, *u* > *ɔu*)
the lowering of *æ* to *a*; and the dissimilation of the vowels in diph-
thongs resulting from the vocalisation of final voiced stops, as -*ɔγ* >
ɔi > *ai*; -*oγ* > -*ou* > -*au*.

We have evidence that already at this early stage there were dia-
lectal variations within the Chinese language, and that they were

sufficiently great to make communication difficult is to be inferred from the *Tso Chuan* (vi, 13), where it appears that the men of Ch'in and of Chin (approximately, modern Shensi and Shansi) could not converse without difficulty. This is the natural consequence of the extension of the language by the incorporation of alien speakers, who would not in the main trouble to acquire the dominant language to perfection, but would rest content with just enough approximation to the new sounds to make them understandable to any pure Chinese speakers in regular contact with them. Should a political or social revolution bring the speakers of this variant into power and prominence, their dialect naturally becomes the new standard, the former 'correct' speech becoming in its turn demoded and finally 'vulgar'.

We have already in the last chapter mentioned Karlgren's discovery that the dialect of Lu was more archaic than the western dialects in respect of the use of the forms of the personal pronouns. We learn from *Mencius*, iii, 6, that in his time the speech of Ch'i (in western Shantung) was different from, and in some way preferable to, that of Ch'u (on the middle Yangtsze); but it is not altogether clear whether the difference was one of dialect merely, or whether the people of Ch'u still adhered to their non-Chinese language.

One of the most puzzling things in the use of phonetics to build up compound characters is the way in which a character with a final -*n* is in a few cases used to represent the sound of one with no final consonant; the reverse case is also found. Karlgren has rightly brought this into connection with a feature of a number of modern dialects in the north-west, east (Wu), and south-east (Min), which regularly discard a final nasal in favour of nasalisation of the preceding vowel. When, therefore, we find two such words as (280), ACh. $^-p^{'i}w\textit{v}m$, P. -*fan*, 'foreign', and (281), ACh. $\textit{'}pua$, P. $\backslash po$, 'to sow', made up from the same sound element, we must assume that the maker of one of them at least spoke such a dialect, so that final -*a* and -*ã* were to him near enough to suggest each other. In such cases, Karlgren has reconstructed a final -*r*, occurring after *a* and *æ*-type vowels only; after the former, the -*r* leaves no trace in Ancient Chinese and the later language, but would be represented by a final -*i* in the latter case. It is not quite certain that this reconstruction is necessary, as the later phonetic development and interchange in

character-formation can both be explained if we start from Archaic -ð or a nasalised vowel. Waley has pointed out that (282), ACh. _mⁱu, P. 'wu, and (283), ACh. _mjwaŋ, P. 'waŋ, both meaning 'not', can hardly be other than doublets; and Karlgren quotes a Chinese scholar of our second century who seems to have been well aware of this phonetic phenomenon, and does not hesitate to equate (284), ACh. γua, with (285), ACh. γu an, in some of their uses.

Karlgren's list of such words might be greatly lengthened if we included cases where a final -ŋ in one modern form showed the same phonetic as words in -n or without final consonant; or words such as (286), 'old woman' read in Pekingese /ao or /wɔn, as alternatives. In yet other cases Ancient Chinese had -ŋ but modern Pekingese -n (e.g., (287), 'willing', P. /k'ɔn; (288), 'to divine', P. -tʂɔn); but in these cases the southern dialects retain -ŋ, and we cannot be sure that the irregular development dates from our period.

Finally, there is another class of anomalously formed compounds which may show that a peculiarity of certain modern dialects of Chinese, one found also in some dialects of Miao, already divided the Chinese field at the time when phonetic characters were being assembled. This is the class of words in which a phonetic part which might be expected to give a labial initial, p-, surprisingly shows instead the palatal affricate, tʃ-. Thus, (289), 'to wink', is in Pekingese /tʂa, in Cantonese -tʂa:p, and has the same phonetic as (290), 'to float', P. \fan, C. -fa:n < ACh. -p'ⁱwɒm; that phonetic is an independent word as P. 'fa, and means 'lacking, worn out', etc., neither of which meanings give us any hope of explaining /tʂa as a 'logical compound'; the 'fa part must be phonetic. (The preservation of -p in the Cantonese form shows that the change from the labial initial must be very ancient, for initial and final p cannot co-exist in Cantonese.) We bring this into comparison with a few other words, such as (291), 'steelyard', P. \tʂ'ɔŋ, which we might expect to sound p-, as it is compounded of (292), P. 'p'iŋ; and (293), 'to judge', P. /ʂɔn, which has as its phonetic part the word P. -fan, 'foreign', quoted above. Perhaps even more curious is the case of (294), P. /tʂ'ɔŋ, 'gallop', which not only has the same phonetic as (295), P. \p'iŋ, 'betroth', but furthermore has in Cantonese the pronunciation -p'iŋ. It will be observed that the Ancient Chinese forms of the p- words all had a following i vowel; and it is exactly in those cir-

cumstances that some Miao dialects show the same alternation of *tʃ*- and *p*-. The evident interpretation of these occurrences is that tke *tʃ*- forms were made by speakers of a dialect to whom the combination of *p*- with -*j*- was difficult, so that they substituted a palatalised dental for the palatalised labial: the latter form is still shown by some northern varieties of Northern Chinese, as in the Jehol district.

The forms under which Korean and Japanese borrowed Chinese words in the latter part of this period also indicate a difference of pronunciation in different parts of China in the first centuries of our era. For the sake of convenience, these borrowings are dealt with in the next chapter.

The aspect of Archaic and Ancient Chinese in which they differ most obviously from any form of the modern language is the vocabulary. Literary tradition has maintained a very large part of the oldest word stock in the memory of every literate Chinese, and words no longer colloquially current are from time to time revived and recombined to provide expression for new ideas. For example, 'aerial navigation' is expressed by the phrase (296), P. *'xaŋ -xuŋ*, which may well become once again colloquial, although neither of its elements is normally used in speaking with the sense which it carries in the compound. In this way the ancient language serves to modern Chinese as does Latin to the Romance languages or to English, as a reservoir of new expressions to be drawn upon as required; Chinese is one of the very few languages in the world to have become the vehicle of a high culture while remaining thus self-sufficient.

It has, like every other language which has extended itself at the expense of regional forms, enriched itself with words from its own dialects. From an old dialect dictionary, the *Fang-yen*, definitely known to have been already in existence towards the end of the Han period and doubtfully ascribed to a writer of the beginning of our era, we learn that words now so common as P. -*tu* (265), 'capital of a province', and P. *'tʂ'uan* (349), 'ship', were then local expressions requiring explanation to the users of the Han standard dialect. A few of the words given by the *Fang-yen* as current in Southern Ch'u are possibly to be equated with words in Miao, whence also they may be derived.

It is evident that the majority of the words used in the classical

literature, and as far as we can trace them back into Proto-Chinese, for the ordinary things of everyday life are still the current words in one or more dialects, though comparatively few are everywhere so used. But there are besides a very large number of words which have perished entirely from the spoken language, or which, if still in use, exist now only in fossilised phrases where their individual contribution to the meaning of the whole is lost. Such is the case of (297), ACh. _ɲʑi, P. 'ɔ, one of the most frequent words in the early periods, having the sense of 'and' or 'but', but now heard colloquially in only a few phrases such as P. 'ɔ -tɕin, 'now', 'ɔ/tɕ'iɛ, 'moreover', where the relevance of its original meaning is so slight as to raise doubts whether it has not replaced some other word. The old nominative forms of the personal pronouns have disappeared from the living language, except for one possible survival in the dialects of Fukien; the very common terminative adverb (298), ACh. ⁻tsai, P. -tsai, of the classics seems to live only in some Wu dialects, where also the meaning is changed. All the commonest grammatical words have been replaced; (299), ACh. _ya, P. 'xo, no longer stands for 'what?' or 'why?', and it is only in the north that (300), ACh. ⁻puɔt, P. -pu, is the ordinary word of negation, most of the other dialects preferring some form of (282), ACh. _mⁱu, P. 'wu; (301), ACh. ⁻pⁱuɔt, P. 'fu, etc.

It was in the first century of our era, and therefore in the latter half of the Archaic Period, that Buddhism was introduced into China. Its importance for the history of the language has been considerable. The task of translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese caused the Chinese to make a more self-conscious interest in their own language; the use of Chinese script to render Sanskrit proper names and philosophical terms throws considerable light on the pronunciation of the relevant periods. The introduction of new foreign words into Chinese was the most obvious effect of Buddhist propaganda, but probably the least important linguistically.

Very few, in fact, of the words brought in by the Buddhists have remained as fully naturalised parts of Chinese, and with the decline in the importance of the cult almost all may be said to have merely historical interest. If some of them, such as (302), 'Buddhist priest', P. 'xo \ʂaŋ, from Sanskrit *upadhyâya* (another instance of the loss of the final nasal, or rather of 'false regression'); (303), P. 'lo

xan, 'arahant'; (304), P. *'jɛn 'lo*, 'Yama', are still more or less understood, they are hardly likely to endure. One meets here and there in modern literary prose with a word like (305), P. *tɕ'a 'no*, 'an instant'. But almost the only one of these words to have established itself firmly in common speech is (306), P. /*t'a*, 'pagoda', if it

HU TRIBES

HSIUNG - NU

YÜEH-CHĬ

Hsien-yang

Yellow River

Yangtsz River

NOSU TRIBES

T'AI

Line of Great Wall
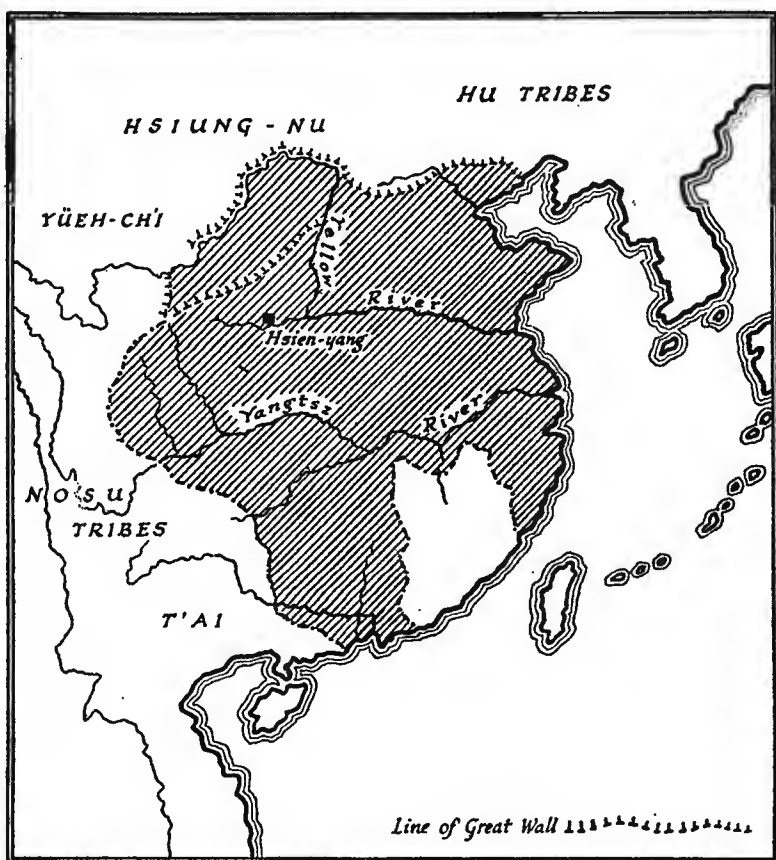
EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE UNDER THE CH'IN DYNASTY

really represents Skt. *stûpa* and Pali *thupo*; this word has become so much part of the Chinese language that it may even survive the structures to which it was first applied, having been extended for use in the neologism (307), P. -*kwaŋ* /*t'a*, 'lighthouse'.

Of far greater importance for the history of Chinese is the knowledge to be gained from these and other transliterations of the pro-

nunciation of Chinese in the earliest centuries of our era. It is to be regretted that we can so seldom date the first adoption of any particular character in any particular sound value, and even more so that we are seldom given information from which we may infer what particular variety of Chinese was used as standard by the transcribers; though we may perhaps conclude, since the earliest missionaries addressed themselves largely to the courts, that some standard dialect was envisaged. The words for 'Buddha', (308), P. *'fo*, and for 'upadhyâya' (see above) occur as early as the first Christian century, but the values with which the Chinese characters are used seem to have changed little as late as the fifth. Once a character was accepted as the writing of a particular Sanskrit sound it is, of course, likely to have continued in that use despite all the changes in its own pronunciation, and its use will become progressively less good evidence of its pronunciation in later centuries.

One naturally looks to the Buddhist representations of Sanskrit words which make their appearance in the Han dynasty to throw light on the phonetics of Chinese at this period. In particular we note that it is the simple *g-*, *d-*, *b-* (Karlgren's aspirated voiced stops) which transcribe the Sanskrit voiced initials, Karlgren's disappearing unaspirated consonants never being used for this purpose. It is unfortunate that this fact is compatible with any of the theories regarding these consonants,—with the view that they had existed but by now had vanished as well as with that here adopted that they never existed at all. Moreover, confidence in the accuracy of the transcriptions is shaken when we note that ArCh. **g-* does duty not only for Sanskrit *g-* and *g'-*, but even for *k-*. One might infer an early devoicing of occlusives in at least some Chinese dialects, and this is not in itself improbable; but having regard to what we find later described in the *Ts'ie-yün* as the standard pronunciation, the conclusion would be hazardous unless supported by further evidence. For more detailed treatment of the same problem the reader is referred to Pulleyblank's work quoted in the bibliographical list.

Most of the remaining features of the Chinese language used to write these religious terms are consistent with the view that it was an early form of the language which we see later as the standard under the T'ang dynasty, as the basis of the Japanese kan-on, and in the modern literary pronunciation of Fukien (T'ang Min). It

seems to have been entirely without the labial fricatives which developed in later Chinese from ACh. *mjw-*, *bjw-*, etc.: (282), ACh. *ˌmiu*, P. *'wu*, and (309), ACh. *ˍmuo*, P. *mu*, interchange in the representation of the same Sanskrit syllable, while to represent a Sanskrit *v* words are used which have no modern forms in *v-* or *w-* in any dialect, or else an original Chinese *w-*, as in (310), P. *'wei'ťo* < ACh. *ˌjwᵉi* *ˌďa* for vêda. Traces of another T'ang characteristic, the denasalisation of initials, are few and inconclusive; they might easily be concealed if an *mb-*, for instance, though distinct from the other labials, and no longer a plain *m-*, was yet the nearest equivalent of the Skt. *m-*. A number of words which had no consonantal initial, or a reduced initial (ʒ-) in Ancient Chinese represent words with *ʤ-* in Sanskrit, so that we must go back beyond the language of the sixth century A.C., i.e., into the Archaic Period, to explain them. But this use is not regular. (311), ACh. −*ⁱεm*, P. *'jεn*, used to represent the Sanskrit syllable *dʒam-*, indicates a pronunciation which agrees rather better with Karlgren's restoration of *djam, GS 617, than with the *λjam here preferred; but (312), which equally is restored by Karlgren as ArCh. **dj-*, rather supports **λ-*, since it stands for the first vowel in the Sanskrit *ullambhana*. The dialect, therefore, to which the transcriptions bear witness, is somewhat nearer to what we may suppose the standard of the T'ang dynasty to have been than to the Archaic Chinese of the age of character building. It does not seem to have stood directly in the line of descent of any of the modern vernaculars except T'ang Min, which still has more forms with the Archaic Chinese initials than any other dialect.

THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

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ANCIENT CHINESE, A.D. 600–1200

The later Han dynasty came to an end, after the usual epoch of degeneracy and weakness, in A.D., 221 and was followed by nearly four centuries of civil war and disunion. The country was not reunited until the end of the sixth century, under the short-lived Sui dynasty. On its fall followed immediately the more famous T'ang era, which lasted for three centuries, from 618 to 907. The energy of the early T'ang rulers extended Chinese dominion far beyond the limits of China proper, and, what is more important for our purpose, colonised the area of the modern Fukien province, which the Hans had conquered but not occupied.

The T'ang period better deserves the title of the Augustan age of China than other periods to which the metaphor has been applied. The literary language then attained a perfection of form never since surpassed; and this form has remained, in prose and in verse, the pattern of language until our own time, and still continues in use despite the recent revival for literary purposes of the colloquial idiom. The T'ang poets, of whose works a huge anthology of nearly 50,000 pieces, short lyrics and narrative poems, is preserved, produced a poetry of exquisite beauty, in which the sentiment matched the form as completely as it does in Chinese painting; the way in which the inherent character of the language contributed to this result will be considered later in this work.

This poetry assures us that the language of the time was still closer to the pure monosyllabism of the last period than to the more prolix modern vernaculars. That this is no mere literary tradition we learn from the story concerning one of the greatest of the T'ang poets, Po Chü-i (A.D. 772–846), who is said to have made it a rule to read his verses to an illiterate woman, rejecting any which she failed to understand. However apocryphal this story may be, its currency implies an almost contemporary estimate of Po's style. Now, it is not easy to find a clear distinction between Po's diction and that of most of his contemporaries, except perhaps that Po took fewer liberties with the order of words; and we may therefore believe that

the spoken language was still, at least among a certain section of the people, near to the literary style of the later T'ang dynasty.

The fall of the T'ang dynasty was followed by another division of the country, in which Tartar and Tungus tribes ruled the north, destroying the T'ang literary culture in that part of China where it had its roots in the language spoken by the people, and causing Chinese to emigrate in large numbers into the southern provinces still under native rule. There the immigrants intermarried, on a larger scale than hitherto, with the pre-Chinese inhabitants, whom we believe to have been mainly of Miao (Mon-Khmer) language between the Yangtsze and the mountains which bound on the north Fukien and the two Kwang provinces; doubtfully Malayan (Cham) in the old Wu kingdom around the mouths of the Yangtsze, and mainly T'ai in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The direct consequences of alien rule in the north were slight so far as the Chinese language is concerned; but the indirect results were immeasurable. The lettered class lost touch with the region of its origin, and the language of north China, losing the exponents of the T'ang standard of speech, was no longer restrained in the development of the characteristics which mark off Modern from Ancient Chinese. The emigration into the south, on the other hand, brought the T'ang standard, not indeed at once as a spoken language, but primarily as a literary style with a literary pronunciation attached to it, into the dialects of Fukien. The transference of the centre of culture to the south of the Yangstze made for the adoption of a new regional or social dialect as the standard of later times, when the court again reverted to the northern parts of the country.

The Sung dynasty reunited China for a brief period, but without the old vigour of expansion, and was soon forced to confine itself to the southern half, Tartar dynasties once again ruling north China. The period closes just before China fell for the first time completely under foreign dominion with its conquest by Jenghiz Khan and the advent of the Mongol dynasty.

Although, therefore, the periods of unity were important for the stabilisation of the language and the spread of a standard speech over a wider area, ages of disorder, of recession of culture, and of divided, often foreign rule, were momentous in provoking or permitting changes in the standard of the language.

In the preceding chapter we have noted the first coming of Buddhism to China. The activities of Buddhist missionaries and translators continued unabated under the T'ang rulers, and were relaxed only under the more conservative Sungs. They poured onwards into Japan, and in return came Japanese students eager to learn Buddhism, Chinese literature, and the arts of civilisation directly from the Chinese. The T'ang poetry contains a number of verses addressed by Chinese poets to foreign students with whom they had formed friendships. On their return to Japan these scholars adapted the Chinese script to the representation of their own polysyllabic language, at first purely phonetically, disregarding the meaning of the characters used to set out Japanese sounds (the 'man-yo-gana'), later ideographically, each character conveying an idea with a Japanese adaptation of the Chinese sound attached. Both of these sources must be used with great caution in establishing the pronunciation of Ancient Chinese; particularly so, as the language of the *Ts'ie-yün* dictionary is itself used as a basis to determine the sound system of Ancient Japanese, so that there is some danger of argument in a circle.

Apart from political movements which had decisive results in the evolution of the language, the period of Ancient Chinese embraces two events of capital importance for our knowledge of its form during that period. The former was the publication of the *Ts'ie-yün* dictionary by Lu Fa-yen in the year 601. It was the first dictionary in which the pronunciation of each word is given, and utilised the method of 'fan-ts'ie' which we have described in the second chapter, and which is traditionally assigned to Sun Yen, a scholar of the third century, under the influence of Sanskrit scholars. The latter event, which throws a corresponding light on the language in the last century of the period, is also the appearance of a pronouncing dictionary, the (313), *Chung Yüan Yin Yün* of Chou Tê-ch'ing. The change in the sounds of the language during the Ancient Chinese period to which these two dictionaries bear witness is enormous; the latter work indicates, so far as pronunciation is concerned, a speech differing only in minor respects from modern Northern Chinese, and as such belongs rather to the ensuing period as its starting point. We shall deal with it, therefore more extensively under Medieval Chinese.

Any such work as a pronouncing dictionary necessarily notes the standard language as recognised in one place and at one point of time. But the term 'Ancient Chinese', although we speak of a long Ancient Chinese period, is commonly applied to the language which can be determined, as precisely as can the pronunciation of any ancient tongue, from the descriptions in the *Ts'ie-yün*. As we shall see later, the standard pronunciation recorded in this work did not long survive its publication; we have clear indications that that of the T'ang dynasty differed in at least one important respect, and cannot be looked upon as merely a further development of the received pronunciation of Sian in the year 601. But the *Ts'ie-yün* language, or the further developed form of a closely similar language, was later to become the source of the modern language of northern China, now adopted as the standard of the whole country.

In the matter of pronunciation of Chinese in the Ancient period we are on much firmer ground than when dealing with Archaic Chinese. In the latter the results as set forth by Karlgren and others and as offered in this work are in effect conclusions, necessarily of very varying validity, from data derived from many sources and often difficult to reconcile among themselves. To arrive at the standard pronunciation of the early 7th century, on the other hand, all that was required was to read and interpret correctly the descriptions in the *Ts'ie-yün*. It must not, however, be imagined that this was a simple task, and two such scholars as Maspero and Karlgren could disagree, e.g., as to the order of the semi-vowels *-j-* and *-w-* when both occurred in the same syllable. Nevertheless, the almost universal acceptance of Karlgren's reading of the *Ts'ie-yün* values (as contrasted with the multiplicity of interpretations placed on the graphs at any point in the preceding period) inspires confidence in its correctness.

The sound system of Ancient Chinese, limited in application as above, was as follows:

Stops and nasals:			
k	*k'*	*g'*	*ŋ*
t	*t'*	*d'*	*n*
ṭ	*ṭ'*	*ḍ'*	*ṇ*
p	*p'*	*b'*	*m*

and the glottal stop, *ʾ*.

Affricates:	*ts*	*tsʻ*	*dzʻ*		
	tʃ	*tʃʻ*	*dʒʻ*	*ɳʒ*	
	tʂ	*tʂʻ*	*dʐʻ*		
Fricatives:	*x*	*γ*			
	s	*z*	*ʃ*	*ʒ*	*ʂ*
	l		*j*		*w*

In this table of consonantal sounds we have followed Karlgren, but it should be noted that Maspero has given weighty reasons, derived from observation of the use of Chinese characters in the reproduction of Sanskrit sounds, for supposing that the voiced occlusives and affricates were not at this period aspirated, though they became so early in the T'ang era (by substitution of a new standard pronunciation). We have already in the preceding chapter seen reason to doubt the reality of Karlgren's second (unaspirated) series of voiced stops and affricates in Archaic times, and Maspero's emendation is probably justified, so that we may henceforth write simple *g-*, *d-*, etc., without the sign of aspiration.

Vowels: *i, e, ε, a, a, ɑ, ɔ, o, u* and *ə*.

Tones: Ancient Chinese had the full series of six tones, an even, a rising, and a falling, each of which appeared twice, in an upper and in a lower pitch. To these must be added, if we distinguish the tone of words which ended abruptly in occlusive consonants, the two 'entering' tones (ju-seng), an upper and a lower.

Of the consonants, all might appear at the beginning of a syllable, but a syllable might end only in *t, k, p, n, ŋ,* or *m*. Words beginning in the unvoiced consonants, including the glottal stop, were in the upper tonal series; all others belong to the lower. The conditions were thus very much as in a modern dialect, such as Cantonese or Ningpo, which preserves its full range of tones; but few modern dialects preserve their voiced occlusives, so that the repartition of initials among the tones now shows less system.

A striking feature of the vocalisation is the great preponderance of diphthongs over simple vowels. Under one initial, the proportion is as great as 4 to 1, or, if we consider *-j-* (Karlgren's *-i̯-*) as a modification of the initial consonant rather than as an element in a polyphthong, it is still as high as 2 to 1. Certain of the vowels, *e, ε,* and *o,* never appear as simple vowels. The dipththongs found are: *ai, ai, ie,*

au, *au*, *ǝu*, *ɛu*, *ua*, *uo*, *uǝ*; and the triphthongs *iei*, *ieu*, *uai* and *iwe*, in the last of which the *w* must be considered as vocalic rather than as consonantal, its subsequent influence being on the vocalism rather than on the initial or final consonants.

Each of the consonants, except the dentals, was capable of combination with a following *j*, and the palatalised dentals—the *ţ* series —never appeared otherwise than thus accompanied. The explanation of the exception lies in the fact that, just before the *Ts'ie-yün* was composed, the plain dental occlusives when followed by *j* had coalesced with the semi-vowel to produce a new class of occlusive initials, the palatalised dentals. Karlgren notes a curious survival in the *Ts'ie-yün*, showing that this process was then hardly complete; the character (314), P. /*tşu*, is there given with the initial *t-*, although all analogy and subsequent history (except in the Hakka dialect, which has '*tu*) imply *ţ-* at this stage. (The difference is obscured in the popular forms of the Min dialects, which do not palatalise.)

This *j* was in later history lost without effect on the preceding consonant, except for the labials (in certain circumstances), and on the velars in Northern Chinese and Wu. The Min dialects did not share in the change effected by the *j* on the labials. The details of these changes are given in the chapter dealing with the development of modern Northern Chinese and the standard dialect.

This coalescence of *j* with the *t-* series to form a new *ţ-* series of initials suggests that the retroflexes may similarly be dental consonants which had, already before our period begins, absorbed the velar semi-vowel which drew the point of articulation towards the back of the mouth. A rare instance of *-w-* following a dental is (315), ACh. ,*nwan*, P. /*nan*, 'to blush'. In later development, the *-w-* remained as such after a velar initial, disappeared completely after a labial, and left its influence on the following vowel in various ways according to the dialect when it followed any other consonant.

All consonants except *γ-* allowed of a following *-jⁱw-*, where the *ⁱ* is a short glide vowel. Except in the case of the labials, this group was without effect on the later evolution of Northern Chinese.

The least satisfactory part of the Ancient Chinese phonological system if the language is considered as ancestral to modern Northern Chinese is the fricatives, dental and palatal, *s-*, *z-*, *ʃ-*, *ʒ-* and *ş-*. This is because in a considerable minority of the common words,

and, in the case of some of these sounds, even in a majority of the common words in which they occur, the modern forms demand the full affricate, *dʒ-*, etc., in the ancient language. The distribution of modern affricates and fricatives as representative of ACh. *s-*, *z-*, *ʃ-*, *ʒ-*, *ʂ-* is compatible with the explanation that the *Ts'ie-yün* pronunciation was recorded at a time when a sound change was actually in progress, or, as it might be put, when a new standard pronunciation as regards these sounds was being substituted for the old, so that speakers were hesitant and inconsistent in the values which they gave them. The retention of the occlusive element in the affricatives is most common in Min, Cantonese, and Wu (with which goes the Japanese go-on); that is to say, in the dialects furthest removed spatially from the centre where the *Ts'ie-yün* was recorded. Min is by far the most aberrant as regards these fricatives when they are unvoiced and in the upper tones, Wu showing the highest number of affricates among the voiced stops in the lower tones. The occlusive had already disappeared from these words in the *Ts'ie-yün* dialect, and, if Northern Chinese is to be regarded as its direct descendant, then we may suppose that the restoration of the affricates in so many cases (23 out of 283 common words examined) might be set down to the account of the prolonged sojourn of the court in the Wu country in Sung times. But it is somewhat preferable (since Cantonese, early separated from the north and presumably keeping an archaic trait, as well as Hakka, a later influx from the north, both show even more such forms than Northern Chinese) to suppose that they survived in the north in certain areas, or among the less educated classes, and regained lost ground when the more cultured part of the community emigrated southwards with the court.

The vowels in the above scheme have been set out as read by Karlgren from the *Ts'ie-yün*. It appears, however, that to attribute to the Ancient language no fewer than four phonemically distinct varieties of a sounds (a, a, ɑ, and ɔ) is somewhat disproportionate; and the last given is particularly troublesome, both in its origin from the earlier language and in its later development, if we suppose it to be a distinct phoneme in the Sian dialect of the sixth century. It is hard, for instance, to suggest a reason why velars should have been palatalised in the modern language when they occurred before a and ɔ, while the other a sounds, which are in a way intermediate

between these two, did not produce such effects. The ending to which Karlgren has assigned the value of -*ɔŋ* in Ancient Chinese is assigned by the *Ts'ie-yün* to the rime series which also contains -*uŋ* and -*oŋ*; with the latter it might rime tolerably, but a rime of -*ɔŋ* with -*uŋ* is not so satisfying to the ear. This vowel never occurs as a final sound in Ancient Chinese, being found only before final velars, oral or nasal. It follows velars (including velar fricatives), labials, and palatalised dentals, but not the ordinary dental occlusive; and it is found that the vowel *a* shows the same preferences.

Now, if we turn to the phonetic parts of the characters in which the vowel *ɔ* is given, we note that, whenever such a character is connected by its phonetic with another which ends in a vowel, that vowel is ACh. -*au*. Examples are: (316), P. */tɕiaŋ*, 'to speak', and (317), P. -*kou*, 'drain'; (318), P. *'po*, 'hail', and (319), P. -*pau*, 'to wrap'; (320), P. -*k'o*, 'husk', and (321), P. *kou*, 'enough'. There are, besides, a number of cases in which the two pronunciations, going back to ACh. -*ɔk* and -*au*, are used with one written character.

Chiu's suggestion of *ɔ* instead of *a*: as the Ancient Chinese value of the vowels in (299), 'what?', P. *'xo*, (400), 'ought, proper', P. -*kai*, etc., similarly implies rejection of Karlgren's value for the vowel in the class of words with which we are dealing; though it is right to remark that he does not pursue the consequences of his theory so far. The grounds advanced by Chiu are that the distinction of an open and a closed *a* sound is too subtle to suppose for the time of Ancient Chinese; and that a distinction of pure quantity (in place of which he suggests nasalisation of the final consonants) is foreign to Chinese phonetic habits. The theory is of considerable interest in itself, but is quoted here principally to show that the identification of the *Ts'ie-yün* vowel sounds is in this region far from final.

Although, therefore, I have retained for this vowel in the foregoing table the symbol corresponding to Karlgren's sound half-way between the *a* and the *o* series, I prefer to believe that the sound was a diphthong, *au*. That diphthong occurs in the *Ts'ie-yün* language just in the positions where Karlgren's *ɔ* is not found; as other diphthongs having *u* as their final element show no avoidance of final consonants, it is hard to see why *au* should do so. I would therefore read the Ancient Chinese values of the characters quoted above as *kauŋ*, *bauk*, and *k'auk*, and have given those values to the endings

wherever they occur in the following part of this book. This reading
will explain why such words caused a preceding velar to become
palatal affricate as does simple ACh. *a*; and it will not cause diffi-
culties with the rime series, for many lines converge to show that
Archaic Chinese stressed the final elements of its diphthongs which
alone, therefore, were absolutely required to coincide to produce a
rime. It derives some support also from the dialects of Fukien, and
is at least not incompatible with the data from the foreign dialects,
especially those from Sino-Annamese, which often show two forms
of the same word, one with *au* reduced to *a* and preceded by the
-*j*- of the palatalising process, the other showing some sound such as
ou, indicating a reduction by assimilation, as in the southern
Chinese dialects. It is interesting to note that Yoshitake likewise
finds difficulties with this *ɔ* sound when he explains the use of the
script by the Japanese. The rime (322), P. -*tuŋ*: (323), P. -*tɕiaŋ*,
quoted by Waley to prove that the 'old style' poetry admitted mere
assonance may, instead, show that the latter word was still pro-
nounced **kauŋ* (with ascending diphthong) in middle T'ang times.

The view that Ancient Chinese already possessed the full range of
tones is in conflict with earlier ideas on the point; Eitel and Parker
assume that the differentiation of the tones is of relatively modern
growth, and Waley appears to imply that the less rigid tone-scheme
of the 'old style' poetry dates from a time when the difference in
tones was less pronounced than it later became: the conclusion
seems, however, unnecessary, and the greater latitude in the older
poetry may indicate no more than a less exigent aesthetic feeling.
Eitel bases his conclusion, it would seem, on the further assumption
that a tone came into existence shortly before it is first noticed
(about A.D., 1000 for instance, in regard to the distinction of upper
and lower even tones).

None of these *argumenta ex silentio* is very convincing. The great
majority of Chinese still use tones while quite unconscious of their
existence and Chinese educated overseas, who have never made a
study of their own language, which they nevertheless speak without
fault, very often do not understand the meaning of the word. The
close connection between the division of the tones into an upper and
a lower series with the consonantal system of the old language and of
some modern dialects, and the metrical and riming systems of the

old language, partly even as long ago as the *Shi-Ching* times, prove almost beyond question the six-tone system for Ancient Chinese. At most there is possible a doubt whether the rising and falling tones were clearly distinguished in Archaic Chinese times; but even here the fact that the very archaic Min dialects have such a distinction, and generally along the same lines as in other dialects, is good evidence that it belongs to the time before the separation of the present dialects, and therefore to well before the T'ang era. As we shall see later, some dialects, including Northern Chinese, have transferred words with occlusive, affricate and fricative initials from the old lower rising tone to the lower falling, while words with other initials have retained their old tones; this change is visible also in the Chinese borrowings in Annamese, and is therefore anterior to the ninth century. That such a far-reaching change should have established itself in the standard dialect at that time implies a long previous history; and since the dialects which do not share in this development nevertheless have other minor points in common with the Northern Chinese tones, we have ample warrant for the belief that the full tonal system already existed two centuries earlier. But as Sino-Annamese shows the same repartition of other Chinese tones among two Annamese tones, according as the initials were occlusive or otherwise, and as no Chinese dialect or written authority shows any evidence of such subdivision except in the lower rising tone, the evidence of Sino-Annamese on this point may not be entirely decisive, and we cannot be absolutely sure that the bifurcation of this tone in Sino-Annamese represents a Chinese development prior to the time of its borrowing. But, even if this be so, we have the unequivocal statement of a Chinese grammarian of the twelfth century that the tone change had already taken place in the standard of his time.

The classical written style as determined in this period retained the anomalous construction whereby the pronominal object of a negative verb comes between the negative particle and the verb, as in *-pu /wo \sɿ*, 'does not know me', contrasted with *\sɿ /wo*, 'knows me'. (Other examples have been quoted in the chapter on Proto-Chinese.) This exceptional word order is lost in all modern vernaculars. Apart from this usage, the Ancient Chinese period is, in the matter of syntax, remarkable chiefly for the freer use of classifiers,

which are henceforward common, though not obligatory, in the written language. In the literary language as fixed at this period they follow the noun. This usage calls for some comment, and its regularity and the departure from the Chinese rule that the adjective precedes the word defined, are hardly to be adequately explained by reference to numeration. We turn for explanation to the earlier languages of the peoples whom the Chinese had absorbed among the users of their language. We find in Miao, where the adjective normally follows the noun, that again the numeral with its classifier reverses the normal rule and comes before it.

The reasons for this appear to be as follows: The classifier, which has since become more and more colourless, was originally apprehended as the substantive element in the phrase, a stage of which we see clear vestiges in the T'ai languages. Its place, at the beginning of the Miao and T'ai phrase, and at the end of the Chinese, was appropriate to this function; and in all three groups of languages the words which are now looked on as nouns were originally in adjectival apposition. In the later history of Chinese, the use of the classifier was favoured by the increasing phonetic poverty and different classifiers served to distinguish words which were becoming homophonous. The weakening of the substantival meaning of the classifier, probably in conjunction with more direct and less discriminatory Miao influence, later caused the inversion of the order, and the phrase assumed its modern form: (115), P. *ǀtsɤ ǀny -san 'miŋ*, 'three sons and daughters', was changed for *-sankə ǀtsɤ ǀny*.

In this period also the monosyllabic character of Chinese was sensibly reduced. We have observed the case of (7), P. *'p'əŋ ǀju*, which could be appropriately translated where it occurs in the Confucian writings as 'companions and friends', the words being then still separable and bearing distinct shades of meaning. (Curiously parallel is the history of the English phrase 'kith and kin', where the distinction of meaning has all but disappeared.) In Ancient Chinese times such compounds of words closely similar but not identical in meaning came to be welded together more indissolubly, in fixed sequence, and a meaning of the two words taken together replaced that of the parts. The change was undoubtedly hastened by the loss of phonetic distinctions between words, the pair being more easily recognisable than either word singly; and in turn the use of these

doublets helped, and was helped by, the feeling for rhythmic balance in the clauses of a sentence. This development, though it now shows itself for the first time in literary works, was however by no means new. Already in the glosses added by Kuo P'o (A.D. 276–324) to two old vocabularies of dialect words, the *Erh-ya* and the *Fang-yen*, we find cases where a word, which had apparently by then become less familiar to ordinary readers, is explained by a synonym compound embodying the word to be explained, as (538), P. /tɕiɛ is made clearer by amplification with (539), P. ⁻tɕ'iŋ, as /tɕiɛ ⁻tɕ'iŋ,—clear evidence that the monosyllable was no longer readily understood in isolation.

This last feature, of which we have noted some of the first traces in the writings of Wang Ch'ung, and of which examples will be seen in the excerpts from classical prose writers of this and later periods in Appendix I, constitutes henceforward a permanent part of Chinese literary style, which now took definite shape. Clauses tend to consist of four or six syllables each, but the tendency is not allowed by good writers to reach the point of monotonous cadence. A good example is found in the rendering of the Lord's prayer in literary Chinese: 'Give us this day our daily bread' is (324), P. /so -ɕy -tʂɪ, 'liaŋ -tɕin \ɪɪ 'ɕi /wo, where each clause counts the same number of syllable-words, as if in English: 'What need that food—to-day grant us'. Instances are not lacking where the assembly of nearly synonymous words amounts to padding of the phrase; such a sentence as: (325), P. \tsɤ -taŋ \lə \liŋ -tɕyan /kai, 'they will naturally be forced to reform', might equally well have been written without the words \lə and /kai. Such padded phrases are often to be found in modern newspapers; thus we find 'the people of Italy' expressed in neighbouring sentences by (326), P. \i 'kuo 'ɹən 'min, and by \i 'min.

The very conspicuous difference between the classical style and modern language in point of vocabulary is partly due, of course, to the fact that the former is a literary language, making use of the very large stock of words known to all scholars from earlier literature, and requiring a wider choice of words because its themes were more varied and in part more abstract than those of everyday life. Of more interest for the history of the language is the very extensive substitution of words which must have existed already in classical times, but which were then admitted to literature only sparingly and exceptionally. In some cases the substitution has affected all

dialects; the old word, P. /*tṣʻyan*, 'dog', has everywhere made way for /*kou*, and almost all the old pronouns have been replaced (although each dialect has, for literary purposes, preserved a pronunciation for the colloquially disused terms). More common is the case where one or more dialects have substituted unrelated words for those used in literature, while others retain them; Pekingese is in this respect more conservative than the rest, in which fact we may see an indication that the colloquial language in other regions had begun its independent life before the written language had ceased in the north to represent fairly closely that spoken there. The subject of changes in vocabulary still awaits thorough research, and it does not seem possible to suggest reasons for such changes, except to say that the avoidance of homophonous words, a potent cause elsewhere, is hardly likely to count for much in a language which tolerates so many as Chinese does.

We turn now to the dialectal variations existing in Ancient Chinese times. We have seen indications that already in the Archaic, and even in the Proto-Chinese period, Chinese was not spoken in exactly the same way throughout its domain; in Ancient Chinese times records of dialectal variations are plain and unambiguous. We have the testimony of Lu Tê-ming, a somewhat younger contemporary of the author of the *Tsʻie-yün* dictionary, who, although in his commentary on the classics he habitually uses spellings which imply the same pronunciation as that dictionary uses, yet often quotes the spellings of other authors which cannot be reconciled with the *Tsʻie-yün* language.

It is not to be supposed that a dialectal feature or a variant usage came into being just at the time, or even shortly before the time when it is first noticed; on the contrary the probability is that variants affecting the intimate structure of the language, its pronunciation and syntax, were born as soon as a numerically superior subject population took on, with a difference due to their antecedent speech habits, the language of their aristocratic masters. The servile speech may be for centuries unnoticed in literature; but when the authority of the ruling caste is relaxed or its prestige diminished, whether by a new foreign conquest which depresses the aristocrats into the mass of the population, or by gradual fading of social distinctions in consequence of economic change, the form of the language spoken by

the aristocratic minority is unlikely to survive. *Littera scripta manet*, however; the literature produced under the aristocrats remains as a model for future generations, and the written language will evolve more slowly than the colloquial, and, as we shall see in the case of Chinese, will prolong the older forms in literature long after the everyday language is utterly transformed.

It follows from this that we must date the formation of the non-standard forms of Chinese from the periods when the language extended its area and when subject peoples were absorbed in superior numbers among its speakers; and the elevation of one or other of these forms to the rank of standard dialect to epochs of confusion, when the restraining influence of the old standard was destroyed; or, perhaps more exactly, to the time of restoration after such confusion.

The Japanese adopted, or were taught by Buddhist missionaries, the Chinese characters in two successive versions. The earlier, adopted in the fifth and sixth centuries with the pronunciation which the characters bore in the region of Wu in east China, is known as the go-on ('Wu sounds'), and when we make what allowance we can for changes in the pronunciation to suit Japanese speech habits and for later Japanese sound developments, it appears, in spite of its widely different place of origin, to differ only slightly from our reading of the Sian (Shensi) dialect in the *Ts'ie-yün*. This result is a very natural one, inasmuch as the Japanese did not take the pronunciation from the mouths of the common people, but were taught them by men themselves highly educated, who may be presumed to have spoken the standard of their day with only a tinge of regional deviation. The go-on probably had some such local tinge, but it would be rash to attribute its differences from the kan-on entirely to the provinces whence it came.

The more important kan-on sounds for the characters were taken over by the Japanese from somewhere in north China in the seventh and eighth centuries. Both time and place may be important in the explanation of their difference from the go-on, and the implied difference of their Chinese basis from that of the *Ts'ie-yün* language. But, if we have rightly interpreted the historical background, then the time is of more consequence than the place. The conspicuous difference in the form of kan-on words from the go-on, confirmed,

as we shall see, from other sources, shows that in these centuries a new standard of pronunciation had arisen in China.

Not all the sound changes, of course, which distinguish kan-on from the Sian dialect given in the *Ts'ie-yün* are to be ascribed to a difference in the Chinese dialect which the Japanese had taught them. Many of them, such as the devices to rid words of final occlusives and of diphthongs foreign to native Japanese, were the work of the Japanese themselves. But Japanese native words had then, and still have, the initials, *m-* and *n-*; if therefore we find that words which in the *Ts'ie-yün* and in most modern dialects of Chinese begin with *m-* or *n-* show in kan-on *p-* (later *h-*) and *d-*, then we must look for the cause of this in the standard Chinese dialect of the time.

Now, we find that in an area of southern Shansi there is even today a form of Chinese with the peculiarity of denasalising the latter part of its nasal initials. The dialect, which we shall call the Chin dialect from the name of the old feudal state in that region, is probably a mere remnant of one once more widely spread. In it the initials *m-*, *n-*, *ŋ-*, and *ɲ-* appear regularly as *mb-*, *nd-*, *ŋg-*, and *ɲḍ-*; and these sounds were simplified in their passage into Japanese, where they now appear as *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, and *ḍ-* respectively (with later modifications according to the adjacent sounds). Not only is this so, but in the literary or reading pronunciation of several of the southern Min dialects, the phenomenon is repeated, the nasal initials being represented as in kan-on. This is a foreign importation into Min, for denasalisation is not found in the colloquial forms of the same words, nor in the forms of Min remote from literary influence. We have given to these pronunciations in southern Min, many of which have forced their way into the everyday speech of the more educated, the name of T'ang sounds, or T'ang Min, as it appears that they are the relics of the standard dialect of the T'ang dynasty carried into the south by refugees from the north. We have no direct literary evidence that this phenomenon, the denasalisation of such initials in the Chin dialect, in T'ang Min, and in the kan-on version of Sino-Japanese, are directly related to each other. But such a sound change occurring 'spontaneously', i.e., unconditioned by neighbouring sounds, is so very unusual that it would be strange indeed if its occurrence at three points in our field of inquiry were really a fortuitous coinci-

dence. We are safe, therefore, in assuming that these three occurrences are historically connected with each other, and that standard Chinese of T'ang times had this peculiarity; and further but with less certainty, that the T'ang court derived it from the regional dialect of the Chin area, with which the founder of the dynasty was connected.

Sino-Korean, the two versions of the Chinese sounds used by the Japanese, the T'ang version of Min, and Sino-Annamese are invaluable for the chronology of the sound substitutions which affected the standard of Chinese in the later Ancient Chinese period. Sino-Korean, the earliest of the four, shows no hint of the change *pjw-* (*p'jw-*, *bjw*) $>$ *f-*, now universal in north China, and, in fact, everywhere except in Min. These sounds appear in Sino-Korean as simple labial stops; but the Sino-Korean tradition by itself is indecisive, as Korean has no *f-* or *v-*. ACh. *m-* is there regularly *m-*; there is no sign of the T'ang denasalisation to *mb-*, nor of the still later (? Sung) development *mjw-* $>$ *v-* or *w-*. Most interesting, as we shall see later, are its treatments of the Ancient Chinese final occlusives. The sound law of the avoidance of consecutive labials, the operation of which is seen, e.g., in the substitution of *-n* for *-m* in (327), 'to offend', P. *fan*, C. _*fa:n*, $<$ ACh. ₍*b'wvm* (cf. Sw. *hwam*) had not yet affected the standard dialect, so that Korean has the word just quoted in the form *pœm*. But, whereas final *-p* and *-k* remain in Korean borrowings from Chinese, the final *-t* is universally *-l*. All three occlusive sounds in this position are equally alien to Korean, and one might have been prepared for some adaptation in all three, as occurred when Japanese took over the same words. The inference from the special treatment of the dental final, therefore, is that the sound was already weakening in the Chinese dialect taught to the Koreans into a fricative (*-r*, or *-ð?*); that dialect was not necessarily exactly that recorded in the *Ts'ie-yün*, though very close to it. This inference is confirmed by a discovery to be mentioned later in this chapter.

As the Japanese go-on is not above suspicion of local influence we shall not deal with it at any length, and shall remark merely that it indicates that *m-* was still firmly nasal in all circumstances; and, as regards the final occlusives, that there was no tendency towards a change into fricatives. Both Japanese versions show the final *-m* as

-*n*, but this is a Japanese adaptation, as we see from Sino-Annamese, the latest of the four 'foreign dialects', where -*m* still stands firm even when the word begins with a labial sound.

Kan-on, then, depended on a Chinese standard which interrupted the *Ts'ie-yün* tradition. The latter does not seem to have been resumed as standard until the ninth century, when the Sino-Annamese then borrowed shows a return to the purely nasal initials. Failure to recognise that the standard speech of T'ang constituted an interruption of the main stream of phonetic development in Northern Chinese has led Chiu to some untenable conclusions on the sound system of Ancient Chinese. He thus attributes to the *Ts'ie-yün* language the fully denasalised initials as seen in the literary forms of southern Min, and is thus forced to seek for another value for the initials interpreted by other investigators as voiced occlusives. His assumption of fully denasalised initials in ancient times to account for the modern Min forms is just possibly valid for the T'ang period; but to say that these initials 'were not originally nasals, but only voiced consonants', if 'originally' is intended to cover the whole pre-T'ang history of the language, is to contradict all that we surely know of the older stages of Chinese. Japanese, which changes every initial *p*- into *h*-, obscures the question whether the parent of kan-on still preserved the labial stop in all circumstances; but its testimony is clear that in the eighth century standard the initial *mjw*- had not begun to weaken to a fricative.

Sino-Annamese and the T'ang version of southern Min are approximately contemporary, the latter, if we are correct in ascribing its introduction to northern refugees after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, being somewhat later. There appears, therefore, to be a certain difficulty when the former is found to have on the whole the more advanced phonology. The same consonants as we have examined in the preceding paragraphs will again be taken as our criteria. The first point to be noted is that Sino-Annamese completely ignores the T'ang characteristic of denasalisation; *m*-, *n*-, *ŋ*-, and *ṉ*- are purely nasal sounds. Yet it shows the change *pjw*-, etc., > *f*-, which must be dated late in the ninth century in the T'ang standard dialect, and it even has a regular *v*- from ACh. *mjw*-, where modern Northern Chinese has *w*-. Now, the T'ang forms in southern Min prove to us that the former change was already accomplished in the standard

dialect (*h-* in T'ang Min deriving from *f-*, a sound strange to Min speech); and the T'ang Min forms prove further that the change *mjw- > w-* had at most hardly begun when the dialect came into Fukien. It would be possible to explain this one phenomenon in various ways (as, e.g., that Annamese carried out later and independently sound substitutions which were impending in north China); but we cannot suppose that Annamese by mere chance transformed several unconnected sounds into conformity with the later standard of north China. If we are to retain the traditional date for the introduction of the Chinese script into Annam, it is necessary to suppose, what in itself is not improbable, that it was later revised in pronunciation in accordance with a later standard of Chinese pronunciation. If this be so, we may tentatively date the Chinese basis in Sino-Annamese words from the tenth century, shortly before the Annamese threw off the Chinese yoke, when the loss of northern areas to the Chinese empire made for the more intense sinicisation of southern China. On the whole, however, it seems preferable to follow the suggestion of Maspero that Sino-Annamese was not based directly on the T'ang standard of Sian, but rather on a more ancient tradition preserved as an exotic dialect in the schools of southern China, so that it took over only such sound changes as were common to T'ang Chinese and to the developed form of the *Ts'ie-yün* language.

A strange feature of Sino-Annamese is the appearance of ACh. *pj-*, *p'j-*, *bj-* in certain circumstances as *t-*, and of *mj-* as *d-*. The change appears to be generally inhibited by a following *-w-* (in cases where *pjw-*, etc., do not give *f-* or *v-*), and it occurs most regularly where the vowel of the syllable has in modern Chinese an *i* sound. A conservative explanation would be that these initial consonants came to Annamese already palatalised (as they are today in certain varieties of Northern Chinese) and were there rendered by the nearest equivalent in the native sound system. We need not, then, attribute to the Chinese dialect adopted by Annam anything further than the palatalised stage of the labials; but it would be difficult to assign the whole process *p(i)- > t-* (or even *ţ-*) to evolution inside Annamese.

By a fortunate chance, among the documents disinterred by Sir Aurel Stein from the old monastery of Tun-huang in the extreme west of China, we have an actual specimen of another dialect. This

consists of a Buddhist catechism in Chinese language but transcribed into the Tibetan alphabet, in two versions, in addition to the version in Chinese script. Maspero, arguing that a Tibetan transliteration of Chinese texts was probable only in a period of Tibetan rule over a Chinese population, inclined to assign the Pelliot MSS., which show the same phonetic features, to as late as the tenth century, while the present catechism is probably not later than the eighth or ninth. The importance of these discoveries for the history of Chinese sounds can hardly be overrated. The differences between the two alphabetic versions are largely graphic, it would seem, and hardly imply two different systems of pronunciation; nor, probably, must we look for a dialectal feature in the universality with which the manuscripts use *-g*, *-b* and (with the exception noted below) *-d* to express the final unvoiced stops of Chinese. This last usage may mean nothing more than adherence to the rule of Tibetan orthography whereby only voiced stops may end a word, but, as voiced stops in this position are believed to be conventionally used in classical Tibetan to indicate applosive pronunciation, their use here may show that Chinese final stops were already unexploded, as they are today in the dialects which retain them. It would not be wise to press too far the many hesitations in writing, e.g., that between *u* and *i*, which are readily explained by the inherently probable suggestion that Tibetan did not have the precise equivalent of the Chinese sound which it was sought to represent.

With these reservations, we may make some general statements about the dialect represented by the Tun-huang MSS. It agrees with kan-on and T'ang Min, and with the modern Chin dialects, against all other varieties of Chinese, except certain Anhuei dialects and, as Forke pointed out, partially (labial initials only) the Fuchou dialect of Kiangsi, in denasalising the initial nasals, at least as far as the stage *mb-*, etc.; for it seems likely that in these cases the Tibetan letter conventionally transcribed *h̲* means the 'homorganic nasal', as it still does in the Tibetan dialect of Khams. So we have—

(328), ACh. ‚*ŋuo* (P. /*wu*), Tun-huang *h̲go* (= *ŋgo*), Kan-on *go*
(194), ACh. ‚*nuai* (P. *nei*), Tun-huang *h̲dve* (= *ndwe*), Kan-on *tai*
(329), ACh. ‚*mⁱuən* (P. *wən*), Tun-huang *bun* (= *bun*), Kan-on *bun*

There is no indication of a weakening of *mjw-* towards *w-*. The change to *b-* is not quite consistent, for P. ‚*miŋ.* 'name', ACh. _*mⁱɛŋ*,

is *mye* (i.e., *mje*), cf. kan-on *mei*. This word also shows an anomalous loss of the final *-ŋ*, which is paralleled in the Min dialects.

The dialect of the Tun-huang MSS., departs from kan-on, however, and agrees with the Hakka dialect, in aspirating all the old voiced occlusives, whatever their tone. Here again, however, the change is not carried through consistently, and we must be cautious of drawing the conclusion of close relationship with modern Hakka: classical Tibetan has unvoiced aspirated occlusives, while its voiced occlusives were unaspirated; Ancient Chinese had by this date no voiced occlusives without aspiration, so that the scribe may well have used the one or the other of the Tibetan series of consonants from time to time, according as the voice or the aspiration seemed to him the more prominent. The Pelliot MSS., which, as we have seen, may be somewhat later, shows ACh. *z* as *s*, *ʒ* as *ʃ*; this Maspero would explain as evidence, not that these consonants were already devoiced in the T'ang standard, but more probably that they also were then aspirated (as are sibilants in some Miao dialects and other languages of China), which aspiration may have been the first step towards the later loss of voice.

The final stops, if we are right in interpreting the voiced stops as standing conventionally for the voiceless, are everywhere preserved, except that *-t* is more often represented by *-r*; (330), ACh. *-tʃ'ⁱuət* (P. *-tʂ'u*) appears as *tʃ'ur*, less often as *tʃ'ud* (probably for *tʃ'ut*). This has, as we noted in one of the foregoing paragraphs, its parallel in the Korean pronunciation of Chinese, where *-t* is regularly replaced by *-l*, which sound takes the place of *-r* when final in Korean; and also in the modern dialect of Fuchou (Kiangsi), if we can be guided by the not too clear phonetic description of Forke. From this we may reasonably infer three things, viz., that the dental final began to decay while the velars and labials were still vigorous; that the passage to complete loss was in the case of this dialect by way of a fricative pronunciation rather than by way of the glottal stop, as it was further south; and that the dialect of Tun-huang and that of Sino-Korean, though they were closely allied to that from which Japanese took the kan-on sounds, were yet not in the direct line of its evolution, as the Japanese affricate pronunciation of the dental final must repose on a clear dental occlusive (as in T'ang Min), and hardly on a fricative. Maspero, relying on certain unusual forms

in Japanese as well as on the transliteration of Chinese words in the languages of Central Asia, believed rather that all three final occlusives were in the T'ang dialect represented by fricatives, and that the subsequent developments in Japanese were due to a reform of the pronunciation on the basis of the *fan-ts'ie* given in pre-T'ang dictionaries. This explanation is not improbable; but it is in any case clear that from this period onwards the loss of the end consonants did not proceed uniformly in all parts of China.

In its vocalism the dialect agrees better with T'ang Min, and in some respects with Sino-Korean, than with the rest of the modern dialects. It maintains ACh. *-ji*, which everywhere else has become *-i*, only Sino-Korean having *-ri*.

Further we note in the Tun-huang language an entire absence of what we shall call 'archaic forms', the rendering of an Ancient Chinese fricative by an affricate, descended from an Archaic Chinese form directly, and not through the *Ts'ie-yün* forms. These are a conspicuous trait of the southern dialects, and especially so of Min, though noticeably absent from T'ang Min, e.g., (331), 'complete', ACh. -ʒⁱɛŋ (< ArCh. ḍⁱeŋ): Tun-huang ʃeŋ, T'ang Min sɛŋ, Min (Amoy), tʃiã, P. 'tʂ'əŋ.

Of particular interest is the representation in this catechism and in other documents of the same source of the Ancient Chinese group ɲʒ-. This invariably appears as ʒ-, without a trace of the nasal, and the dialect represented is therefore distinctly a northern one, and in this respect close to the line of ascent of Pekingese. In all the southern dialects it is the fricative part which is lost, and, if any consonantal element beyond *j-* is retained, it is a simple *n-* (sometimes becoming *l-*), e.g., (73), 'man', P. 'ɹən < *ʒin, Tun-huang ʒin, as contrasted with Su. √ɲæn, C. ˌjan. This dichotomy is probably, apart from that which separates the dialects which keep their final nasal consonants intact from those which lose them, the most ancient still to be traced among the Chinese dialects.

Most of the foregoing points in the pronunciation of standard Chinese in the end of the T'ang dynasty are confirmed by the transcription of another passage from a Buddhist work, this time in the Brahmi alphabet. The exact value of the signs being less well established than in the case of the Tibetan script, their interpretation as applied to the representation of Chinese sounds must not be pressed

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too far; but the manuscript, which is of the same origin and period, appears to support Karlgren's view of the relative position of the -*j*- and -*w*- when these sounds occur together in Ancient Chinese words; and also to show that the final -*k* and -*p*, as well as -*t*, were already weakening, and that by way of the fricative rather than through reduction to the glottal stop, as Karlgren holds.

According to L. Giles, the Tun-huang MSS. which bear dates range between the years 406 and 995, while those above referred to may be assigned to some time in the 7th or 8th century. We may summarise their evidence, therefore, by saying that we have proof here of the existence in north-western China, within two centuries of the publication in the *Ts'ie-yün* of the Ancient Chinese which is so close to the ancestral forms of most modern dialects of the north, of another form of Chinese, close to but not quite identical with the common ancestor of the T'ang Min dialects and the kan-on. It offers at least one peculiarity with analogies in Sino-Korean, while others debar us from suggesting direct relationship. It does not follow that we have here a dialect which is in any sense a mixture of elements from two or more others; rather the language of the Tun-huang monks was intermediate, and based on the language of an area where isoglosses overlapped, so that it shared traits with all its neighbours. What that locality was we have hardly the wherewithal to speculate; but it can hardly have been the immediate neighbourhood of Sian whence came the *Ts'ie-yün*.

Of somewhat less reliability because of their smaller content, but important as indicating yet another dialectal departure from the T'ang standard are the Uighur script glosses on a Chinese work. Agreeing in general with that attested by the Tibetan transcriptions, the dialect presents three curious features: While it shows the T'ang denasalisation of initials (η- $>$ g-), it nevertheless has fricatisation of $pju > fu, mju > vu$, the latter of which changes might possibly have taken place after denasalisation ($mju > $ *$mbju > $ *$bju > vu$). Not only has -*t* weakened to -*r*, but -*k* also to -γ; and, most important of all, -η disappears except after velar vowels, which may mean that the endings were nasalised, as in many Northern Chinese dialects today, a feature of which Karlgren cites probable ancient examples.

We see, therefore, attested for the Ancient Chinese period four separate lines of departure from the phonetic norm of the *Ts'ie-yün*,

and these are probably to be linked with the occurrence of the same phenomena as are exhibited in local dialects still surviving. They are;

(a) the denasalisation of the latter part of initial nasals,
(b) the weakening of a final nasal into a sound represented by $-\eta$, but possibly already merely a vowel with nasal resonance,
(c) the weakening of the final dental stop $-t$ to a fricative; and
(d) the sound development pjw-, $p'jw$-, bjw- $> f$-.

These four developments are not vouched for by all the sources. Kan-on shows only (a), Sino-Korean only (c), Sino-Annamese only (d), while the T'ang variety in Min has both (a) and (d), and the Tibetan transcription indicates (a), (b), and (c). The Buddhist spellings, somewhat less certainly, exhibit (a), but are apparently in advance of all other varieties proved for this period by their devoicing of all initial occlusives. It is impossible to regard these four developments as successive in any one dialect; a possible exception must be made as regards (d). Rather they existed simultaneously, and possibly in some cases from long before the Ancient Chinese period, and the dialects exemplifying them attained successively to the position of standard language, locally or throughout the Chinese territory.

The linguistic diversity of our period is directly proved by the Tibetan translation of the Chinese version of a Buddhist tale, studied by Takakusu. The Chinese translation from the Sanskrit is dated A.D. 445; the precise date of the Tibetan translation is uncertain, but can hardly have been before Tibet became Buddhist and acquired an alphabet in A.D. 632, and was probably in the T'ang dynasty. All the more surprising is it to find that, when the Tibetan translator spells Sanskrit terms after the Chinese rendering—not directly from the Sanskrit original, as Takakusu shows—he betrays no sign of a denasalisation of nasal initials which characterised the T'ang pronunciation. It is clear that the T'ang standard did not succeed in imposing itself in all parts of China during the dynasty.

ANCIENT CHINESE A.D. 600–1200

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MEDIEVAL AND MODERN CHINESE

The political history from the end of the Ancient Chinese period down to our own day, in so far as it concerns the history of the language, is soon told. The Sung dynasty lost northern China to the Jurchen, later to be superseded by Mongols in the year 1127, and the remainder of the country in 1280, and the Mongols ruled the whole until 1368. A native dynasty, the Ming, held the throne until 1644, when the Manchus conquered China and held it until the Republic was established in 1912.

Neither of the times of foreign domination seems to have directly affected the course of evolution of the language. With no literary culture, and lacking the means of expression for the activities of a highly civilised people, the Mongol and Manchu languages could not, even with the prestige conferred by the ruling house, compete successfully with Chinese. The few words which they contributed to the Chinese vocabulary were hardly naturalised in the language, and were soon lost together with the institutions to which they referred. The encouragement of the study of Manchu by the Manchu dynasty was never more than half-hearted, and long before the end of their régime the Manchu garrisons, the 'bannermen', which were scattered throughout the provinces, had by intermarriage and by mere force of circumstances, abandoned Manchu for the varieties of Chinese current in their several localities.

Chinese had, in fact, by this time already reached a phase in its development in which a new dialectal variety could hardly arise. Its speakers far outnumbered those of any alien language with which they might come into contact, so that the assimilation of such non-Chinese tribes as still remained unabsorbed within its borders could produce little effect; and that little of a purely local character, under constant menace of being swamped by the compact Chinese settlement encircling it. Chinese was never in any real danger of displacement by the foreign tongues of its conquerors; numbers, as well as superior civilisation and literary culture, were on its side, and more

than compensated for the prestige attaching to the language of a conquering caste.

It is otherwise with the transference of the centre of government which came as a consequence of these dynastic changes. Until Sung times the capital had always, except for short intervals, been situated in the north-west corner of the Chinese area. But, from the time when the Sung emperors were forced to relinquish the north to the invaders and removed their capital to Hangchow in 1129 (where it remained for the next century and a half), the central administration had been in the eastern half of its area,—in Nanking 1368–1403, and again when the Republican capital was removed there in 1928, and for the rest of the time in Peking.

It is scarcely possible for a court, with its attendant officials and its multitude of persons indirectly attached, to remove to another city without its language, necessarily the standard of correctness of its time, suffering the influence of the local speech. This will not be a simple process of adoption of the metropolitan local dialect, for the imported standard speech opposes a more or less successful resistance to the vulgar forms previously in use there; while the bourgeois of the capital, on the other hand, imitate as best they can the speech of the official classes. The end, however, is necessarily that the two forms of speech approach each other, though the distinction between educated and vulgar speech may never completely disappear. It is natural, therefore, that by the end of the latest period the standard of spoken Chinese should be the speech of the educated classes of Peking. It is natural, further, that that dialect should derive with fair regularity, though not without anomaly, from the old standard of the *Ts'ie-yün*, of which the thread, interrupted during the T'ang period, was resumed by the earlier Sung dynasty. We may also expect to find marks of the former residence of the imperial court in the Wu dialect of Hangchow and in that of Nanking, which will approximate more closely to the standard dialect (of the respective periods) than would have been the case but for this historical accident.

At the end of the Ancient Chinese period we saw the country, and even the part now covered by Northern Chinese in its various forms, parcelled among a number of competing dialects, some of which still exist in reduced areas or even altogether outside the localities of

their origin. We need not suppose this state of affairs to have altered suddenly; and the existence even now of regional forms exhibiting certain of the peculiarities of this or that dialect of the Ancient Chinese period proves that the change was gradual. The vast increase of population attested by official statistics at intervals throughout the modern period had the effect of destroying the isolation of communities. Mere isolation will not of itself give rise to dialectal varieties, but it is a powerful factor, in the linguistic field as in the biological, in conserving such as already exist. The greater population, and a more centralised government over a longer period of time than China had hitherto known, involved more communication between one region and another; and in the communications so established any local speech was at a disadvantage in comparison with that favoured by the administration and the lettered classes. Local differences, even within the Northern Chinese area, still survive, and are in some parts, as, e.g., between district and district in the province of Anhwei, strong enough to make mutual understanding difficult; but, if present policies and tendencies continue, the more pronounced regionalisms are doomed to extinction within a measurable time.

The phonetic development of Pekingese has been very fully worked out by Maspero and Karlgren. Most of the sound changes which transformed it from Ancient Chinese into the modern language, and the results of which cut it off from the Wu and Min dialects, were at least well established before the end of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 907); the three centuries of T'ang rule seem to have been a time of particularly rapid phonetic and probably syntactic change in the north of China. When we next catch a glimpse of the old *Ts'ie-yün* language, it is transformed almost beyond recognition: degraded from the position of standard dialect in early T'ang times, it was by that fact for a time without the restraint of a norm of correctness, and free to incorporate and develop forms which the standard norm would have at least repressed as vulgar, and possibly might have ended by exterminating. Therefore, when the T'ang language ceased to be the standard of speech in the north, its place was taken, not by the old standard of the Sui dynasty known to us from the *Ts'ie-yün*, but by a more developed form of this, a form of speech which had made further concessions to the habits of pronunciation of the masses

of the people, the surviving influence of non-Chinese languages long since extinct in that part.

The most conspicuous of these changes were the loss of voice in all the old voiced stops and in the voiced fricatives and aspirates; and the evolution of the labial fricatives f and η ($>$later w) from the old labial occlusives and nasals when followed by -jw-. The Annamese sounds of Chinese words adopted into that language in the ninth-tenth century show clearly that the fricative stage in these developments was already reached; the evidence of the Chinese borrowings into Korean (about A.D. 600) and Japanese (seventh-eighth centuries) is less clear, apart from the uncertainty whether the dialect which they utilised was really that from which modern Northern Chinese sprang. Neither Korean nor Japanese seems to have had a labio-dental f, and if they use p (for which Japanese substituted h, as in every case of ACh. p-) to represent the same T'ang sound which appeared to the Annamese as f, this may, apart from the possibility of difference in the Chinese dialects from which they drew, and the difference of time, mean only that they substituted for f a sound easier for them to reproduce. It seems in any case clear that Korean heard a distinctly nasal m in Chinese words which had mjw- in the Ancient Chinese of Sui times, and equally clear that Annamese recognised a fricative sound in the same words, as it represents them today with initial v-.

It is impossible to indicate with precision the date of the devoicing of the initials, the major line of cleavage between Ancient and Modern Chinese in all dialects except Wu. Apart from the fact that there is no reason to believe that such a universal change was contemporaneous in all the regions in which it occurred,—and in fact we shall see later that devoicing took place in Cantonese independently of the northern dialects—, its occurrence in the standard dialect may well have been a gradual process. Something of this kind is to be observed in some Wu dialects at the present time; in Ningpo, for instance, we find that the voiced pronunciation is lost when the word is pronounced alone or as first member of a stress group; a normalisation of this pronunciation would naturally lead to complete devoicing. The loss of voice may have begun in the north-western region; although facts forbid us to imagine that initials were devoiced at that early date, it is noteworthy that, whereas the Japanese go-on

regularly represent ACh. *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, by *g*, *d*, *b*, the kan-on has regularly *k*, *t*, *p* respectively for these sounds, and this may indicate that a tendency in the direction of the subsequent development already existed in the region of Sian.

The devoicing of initial stops, affricates and fricatives must be dated somewhat later than the fourteenth century, as Karlgren has shown that a dictionary of that time, probably representing the language of Nanking, and by no means given to the preservation of merely traditional distinction, nevertheless still makes a careful distinction in its fan-ts'ie spellings between those stops which were originally voiced and those which were always voiceless. It follows from this that Simon's explanation of the twofold treatment of the ancient lower rising tone in most modern dialects, which, as we have seen on p. 172 in Chapter VIII, cannot be proved earlier than the tenth century, must be regarded as unsuccessful. Simon explained the movement of the words with occlusive and affricate initials into the falling tone as a consequence of their loss of voice, whereby they were attracted to the upper tonal series, that proper to unvoiced initials; and he deduced from this that devoicing must have already begun before the Annamese adopted their pronunciation of Chinese, i.e., before the tenth century. The discrepancy in dates, great as it is, is not necessarily fatal to this theory, for devoicing probably came in gradually, as it is now doing in the Wu dialects; and dialectal divergences might be called in to reconcile the conflicting data. But the theory not only cannot account for the same dichotomy of this tone in dialects in which the tone to which the words have been transferred has remained a lower tone in actual pitch,—and these dialects are not few,—but it fails to explain the continued tolerance of the lower tones in conjunction with devoiced initials in many Northern Chinese dialects in regard to the old 'even' and 'departing' tone words as well.

The Initial Consonants

The glottal stop (ʿ), which occurred at the beginning of all syllables in the upper tonal series in the ancient language where there existed no other initial consonant, has completely disappeared, and has left no trace. The initials *l-* and *n-* have maintained themselves unchanged in Pekingese. All other initial consonants have suffered, at

least in certain combinations, more or less radical changes, which we shall now trace in detail.

The velars: g- lost its voice, becoming k'- if the word was in the old even (p'ing) tone, and k- otherwise: (332), 'industrious', ACh. $_{-}g'\partial n > c'in$, whence $t\mathfrak{c}'in$, but (333), 'near', ACh. $_{,}g'\partial n > _{,}cin > $ P. $\backslash t\mathfrak{c}in$. The old g- thereafter shared in all the changes which later affected ACh. k- and k'-, and, in particular, all underwent the modern palatalisation (later than the sixteenth century) into the affricates $t\mathfrak{c}$- and $t\mathfrak{c}'$- when followed by the (modern) vowels $i, y,$ or a.

γ- was devoiced to x-, and, like original x-, was in modern times palatalised to $\mathfrak{c}$- in the presence of $i, y,$ and ia: (334), 'to cry', ACh. $^{\backprime}xam$, and (335), 'all', ACh. $_{-}yam$, both giving $\mathfrak{c}i\varepsilon n$ (the former more commonly, but irregularly, $/xan$); (336), 'sea', ACh. $^{\backprime}xai$, and (337), 'injure', ACh. $_{,}yai$, both giving xai (but differing, of course, in tone).

The velar nasal η- has disappeared everywhere in Pekingese, leaving no trace before modern o, a ($<$ ACh. a) or ∂, or where w followed, but leaving its off-gide as w- before modern $\mathfrak{o}$; as j- before modern palatal vowels (i, y, ε) and $a <$ ACh. a. Examples are: (338), 'tooth', ACh. $_{-}\eta a > $ P. $^{\backprime}ja$; (339), 'pottery', ACh. $_{,}\eta wa > $ P. $/wa$; (340), 'hindrance', ACh. $_{,}\eta ai > $ P. $\backslash ai$; (341),' palette', ACh. $_{,}\eta ien > $ P. $\backslash j\varepsilon n$; (342), 'noon', ACh. $_{,}\eta uo > $ P. $/wu$.

The labials: The old b- was assimilated to p- and p'- in the same way as g- was to k- and k'-, i.e., changing to the aspirate if the word had the old level tone, and to the simple unvoiced stop in other circumstances. These p-, p'- have thenceforward remained unchanged, except when followed by -jw- or -ju, in which case Pekingese now represents them by f-. A following i vowel appears to inhibit this development, and instead to lead to the loss of the -w-; thus (343), ACh. $^{-}pjwei$, 'not', $> $ P. -fei; but (344), ACh. $^{-}pjwi$, 'sad', retains the occlusive: P. -pei.

The initial m- has remained unchanged except in the same conditions which affected the labial stops, i.e., before -jw-, -ju. In this position it became fricative, $\eta\eta$, and later w-. Here again we may see that -i- immediately following the w prevents the development of the fricative: (345), 'taste', ACh. $_{,}mjwei > $ P. $\backslash wei$, but (346), 'eyebrow', ACh. $_{-}mjwi > $ P. $^{\backprime}mei$.

The dentals have remained constant, except for the general change of the old voiced d to t' in the even tone, to t otherwise.

The dental affricates, *ts-*, *ts'-*, and *dz-*, similarly remained unchanged, except for the parallel repartition of *dz-* into *ts-* and *ts'-*, according to the tone. They thus continued until modern times, when the resulting *ts-*, *ts'-* were palatalised before the modern vowels *i* and *y*: thus (347), 'run', ACh. *'tsəu* > P. */tsou/*; but (348), 'a well', ACh. *'ts'ɛŋ* > P. */tɕiŋ/*. It is to be noted that *-i* as simple principal vowel did not occasion palatalisation, it having disappeared, apparently, before the date of that change; so (28), 'son', ACh. *'tsi* > P. */tsɤ/*.

The palatal dental stops, *ţ-*, *ţ'-*, *ḍ-*, showed the same devoicing of the voiced member of their series, *ḍ-*, which became *ţ'-* in the even tone, *ţ-* in any of the other tones. The nasal *ɲ* was, curiously enough, depalatalised to simple dental *n-*, a sound which it retains in the modern language. In view of what follows, it might have been expected that it would evolve into the palatalised dental affricate, *ɲʒ-*, in which it would have remained in parallel with the occlusives; but this development is, in fact, unknown. The palatal dental occlusives during the T'ang period developed a fricative thereby coalescing with—

The original *palatalised dental affricates*, *tʃ-*, *tʃ'-*, and *ʤ-*. The evolution of the voiced member of this group, *ʤ-*, was not strictly parallel with that of the old voiced stops. In the level (p'ing) tones, it, having lost its voice, was duly converted into the corresponding unvoiced aspirate *tʃ'-*; but in the other tones we get not *tʃ-*, but *ɕ-*, the occlusive part of the affricate completely disappearing; thus (349), 'ship', ACh. *_dʒʰwɛn* > P. *'tʂ'wan*; but (350), 'tongue', ACh. *_dʒʰɛt* > P. */ʂə/*. There are, however, many exceptions to this rule, and many words show in the even tone the form which we should expect only in the oblique tones, i.e., *ɕ-* or *ʂ-*.

In the corresponding nasal group, *ɲʒ-*, the nasal *ɲ* was lost altogether, and the *ʒ-* remained as a voiced fricative, from which we may conclude that the loss of *ɲ-* must have taken place after the close of the epoch of devoicing; otherwise it must have shared the fortunes of the original *ʒ-* of the old language and become *tʃ'-* or *ɕ-*.

Towards the end of the T'ang period, the palatalised dental affricates, both those originally so sounded in Ancient Chinese and those derived from the palatalised dental stops, and including with the former the *ʒ-* < *ɲʒ-*, were further assimilated to the retroflex

affricates, *tʂ-*, *tʂʻ-* (which had already assimilated their voiced counterpart, *dʐ-*, according to the regular pattern—aspirate in even tone, simple unvoiced affricate otherwise). There is great confusion in the representation of all three groups of sounds in the Sino-Annamese, borrowed in the ninth-tenth century, and this confusion may merely perpetuate the uncertainty which existed in Chinese while the change was in progress.

In the same way, the *ʐ-* < ACh. *ɲʐ-* gave way to the corresponding retroflex sound, *ʑ-*, and this affected a following palatal vowel, causing that vowel to be pronounced further back in the mouth. It is thus that we explain the curious evolution of ACh. *ɲʐi-* into P. *ʑu*; the middle vowel *ɿ* which took the place of *i* when the consonant changed from palatal to retroflex, was absorbed into the voiced consonant, and, later, a compensatory vowel arose before the consonant, the complete series being:

$$\textit{ɲʐi} > \textit{ʐi} > \textit{ʑi} > \textit{ʑɿ} > \textit{ʅ} > \textit{ʑu}$$

The sibilants: Initial *s-* remained throughout the T'ang period, absorbing *z-* when the latter lost its voice. In the modern period Pekingese palatalised *s-* to *ɕ-* when it occurred before the modern vowels *i* and *y*; but here again, as in the case of the dental affricates, it is important to note that simple *i* did not give rise to the palatal, it being absorbed by the sibilant, apparently, before the date of the modern palatalisation. Thus (351), 'four', ACh. ʽ*si*, gives P. *sɤ*, not **ɕi*. In the case of *z-* there are a large number of anomalies, where the modern language has an affricate, *tɕʻ*, in words in the even tone; cf. the representation of *dʑ-* among the palatal dental fricatives above. In some cases alternatives exist, as (352), 'swim', ACh. _*zⁱᵘu* > P. ʽ*ɕiu* and ʼ*tɕʻiu*. The occurrence of these alternatives and irregularities is not easy to explain on a theory of mechanical phonetic development, and it seems probable that we have to do with a mixture of dialects in the language of the capital city, which is antecedently not improbable; cf. the uncertainty in the use of the vowels *æ* and *a* in modern English, in which few speakers are really self-consistent.

The palatal sibilants, *ʃ-* and *ʒ-*, have become retroflex, being therefore confounded with ACh. *ʂ-*. The voiced palatal sibilant *ʒ-* was, of course, devoiced; it shows in many cases in even tone words the

affricate in place of the simple sibilant in modern Pekingese, as well as a number of alternative forms, just as does z-. The Japanese forms of these words offer a number of cases with affricates for the simple sibilant; but it is not possible to rely on this to re-establish the sounds of Ancient Chinese, for Yoshitake believes that Ancient Japanese, which, like some modern Japanese dialects, has a tendency to change z- to dz-, may have substituted its own dz- for a Chinese z-, etc., in these cases.

The Medial Consonants

The semi-vowel -j- has left no direct trace in the modern language; but its action is visible in the emergence of f- < ACh. pjw-, $p'jw$-, bjw-, and w- < ACh. mjw-, as well as on the development of the modern vowels.

The old -w- also disappears in the production of the labial fricatives f- and w-, and is lost without trace when it followed immediately a labial consonant, as (190), 'eight', ACh. ⁻$pwat$ > P. -pa; (353), 'grind', ACh. ₋mua > P. 'mo. It remains unchanged when it follows immediately on a velar consonant and is itself followed by any of the ACh. vowels a, a, $ʌ$, $ə$; in other cases it is lost save for a labialising effect on the following vowel: (354), 'unite', ACh. ₋$yiep$ > P. '$ɕiɛ$; but (355), 'hole', ACh. ₋$yiwet$ > P. \₋$ɕyɛ$.

The Final Consonants

All the final occlusives of Ancient Chinese are lost to modern Pekingese, and in the western part of the Northern Chinese area (from Hankow to Szech'wan), though in other parts of the area, e.g., Nanking, and the north-western provinces, they remain in the reduced form of the glottal stop. They are not represented in an alphabet derived from the Tibetan and used in the thirteenth century to represent Mongol and a number of Chinese loan-words. The earliest direct evidence of the loss of the glottal stop in the standard language is a dictionary, the *Chung-yüan yin-yün*, of the year 1324, which distributes the ju-sheng words among the four tones now remaining in Pekingese. In what follows we shall trace their surviving effect, where this is visible, on the form of the vowel and in the tones.

The three nasal finals, -n, -m, and -$ŋ$, are now reduced to two

only, all words with the final -*m* having changed this to -*n*, at least as early as the fifteenth century, and probably much earlier; Serruys, however, without quoting his authority, dates its disappearance in the 17th century. This seems to have been the last great phonetic change common to the whole Northern Chinese area, for the modern palatalisation of the velar initials and the sibilants has not yet extended throughout Northern Chinese.

The Vowels

The most powerful factors in the changes which came upon the Ancient Chinese vowels in their passage into the modern language of north China are the initial consonants. Final consonants, when they existed, seem to have exercised relatively little influence. The three classes of initials which produced the greatest effect on the following vowels were:

i. the velars, which disengaged a -*j*- in the presence of *a* and *au* (i.e., *ɔ*, of Karlgren's reading);

ii. the labials, which absorb a following -*u*- or -*w*-, when this is not the principal vowel of the syllable, and which cause a following -*u* (principal vowel), unless it is final, to dissimilate to -*ə*-; and

iii. the retroflex consonants (including the old palatals, which had become retroflex), which cause a following front vowel to move to a position further back in the mouth, so that what would otherwise have evolved into -*i*, -*ei*, -*y* appears instead after a retroflex consonant as -*ɿ*, -*ə*, -*u* respectively.

The only simple vowels found without final consonants in Ancient Chinese are -*a*, -*a*, and -*i*.

a- becomes *o*, and -*ua* > -*uo*, the *u* dropping if a labial consonant precedes, e.g., (356), 'fruit', ACh. '*kua* > P. /*kuo*, but (357), 'old woman', ACh. _*bua* > P. '*p*'*o*. When followed by a nasal consonant, *a* > *a*, as (358), 'hard', ACh. ⁻*kaŋ* > P. -*kaŋ*. Before a final occlusive, we get -*ɔ*, -*ə*, -*au* for ACh. -*ak*, while -*ap* and -*at* give -*ɔ*, -*ə* after a velar, but otherwise -*a*; e.g., (359), 'thin', ACh. _*bak* > P. '*po* or '*pau*; (360), 'thirst', ACh. ⁻*ka*'*t* > P. '*k*'*o* or '*k*'*ə*; (361), 'to reach', ACh. _ACh. *dat* > P. '*ta*. Among the alternative forms, where these exist in modern Pekingese, those with simple vowels represent a more literary or formal pronunciation than those with

diphthongs, but the same speaker will use either according to the occasion or the phrase; the existence of two or more competing forms in these and other words which had the 'entering' tone in the old language may probably be set down to dialect mixture; cf. the observations above (p. 182) on the two distinct ways in which the final occlusives were lost, by way of the fricative and by way of the glottal stop.

ACh. -*a* gives P. -*a* in all circumstances, except where preceded by a velar consonant, when an *i* glide is developed; this glide in turn affects the final vowel by umlaut if a nasal consonant follows, so that, instead of *kan or *kian for ACh. ⁻*kan*, (362), 'deceitful', we actually find -*tɕiɛn*. Original ACh. -*ja* regularly gives -*iɛ*, except when the initial consonant is retroflex, when the result is -*ə*; e.g., (363), 'also', ACh. ,*i̯a* > P. /*jɛ*, but (259), 'that which', ACh. '*t∫ⁱa* > *tʂjɛ > P. /*tʂə*.

From -*jaŋ* we normally have -*jaŋ*, and -*jak* develops into -*jɔ*, -*jau*, -*yɛ* (as alternatives); but a preceding retroflex consonant operates to suppress the *j* or *y*, leaving -*ɔ* or -*au* only; e.g., (364), 'good', ACh. ⌄*lⁱaŋ* > P. '*liaŋ*; (365), 'foot', ACh. ⁻*kⁱak* > P. '*tɕiau*, '*tɕio*; (366), 'trade', ACh. ⁻*ʃⁱaŋ* > P. -*ʂaŋ*.

The vowel -*i* is the most constant of the simple vowels, remaining everywhere as -*i*, except when a retroflex consonant causes it to appear as -*ɿ*, e.g., (367), 'poetry', ACh. ⁻*ʃi* > P. -*ʂɿ*. The vowel of the modern equivalent of ACh. *jwi* is one of those affected by the tone in modern Pekingese; after a consonant other than a labial it gives -*ui* in the first and second Pekingese tones (corresponding to the old upper and lower level tones respectively), otherwise -*uei*. If a labial precedes, the -*u-* (-*w-*) is suppressed, and the result is -*ei*: (368), 'thereupon', ACh. ,*zwi* > P. *suei*; (369), 'tortoise', ACh. ⁻*kjwi* > P. -*kui*; (344), 'sad', ACh. ⁻*pjwi* > P. -*pei*.

The vowel *ɛ* is found in the old language only as second element of a diphthong, -*jɛ-*, and followed by a consonant, or else by -*u* or -*i* to form a triphthong; the latter case will be considered later. If the final consonant is a velar, whether oral or nasal, the -*jɛ-* results in -*i-*; if a labial or dental, the result is -*iɛ-*, which here again appears as -*ə* after a retroflex initial. A -*w-* intervening between the -*j-* and the main vowel does not alter the result if a velar consonant follows; but ,-*jwɛt* gives -*yɛ* and -*jwɛn* gives -*yan* (or -*uan* after a retro-

flex). Examples are: (370), 'advantage', ACh. ⁽jɛk, P. 'i; (371), 'pity', ACh. ⁻sⁱɛk > P. -ɕi; (372), 'different', ACh. ⎵bⁱɛt > P. 'pi; (373), 'establish', ACh. ⁻fⁱet > P. ⟍ʂə; (374), 'connected', ACh. ⎵liɛn > P. 'liɛn; (375), 'round', ACh. ⎵jⁱwɛn > P. 'jyan; (376), 'turn', ACh. 'jⁱwɛn > P. /tʂwan. The evolution of the ACh. vowel e, which occurs only before a consonant, is similar to that of ɛ; -ien gives P. -iɛn, but -jwen > P. -yan, unless a labial consonant precedes, when the result is again -iɛn, the labial vowel being absorbed.

Apart from the diphthong uo, to be treated later, Ancient Chinese has the vowel o only in the combination jwo, which when final results in (j)y, as (377), 'fish', ACh. ⎵ŋⁱwo > P. 'jy. Before a final k, the result is likewise y; but when followed by -ŋ it gives -ə after a labial initial (by dissimilation), otherwise u: (378), 'fear', ACh. 'kⁱⁱwoŋ > P. /k'uŋ, but (379), 'to invest with an office', ACh. ⁻pⁱwoŋ > P. -fəŋ.

The Ancient Chinese ə gives P. ei when followed by k, as in (380), 'north', ACh. ⁻pək > P. /pei (with alternative ⟍po). Preceded by -j- and followed by an occlusive final, it gives i, or, after retroflex, ɿ; the case of (130), 'to enter', ACh. ⎵ɲʑⁱəp > P. ⟍ɹu, is isolated. From -uət and -juət we have -u and -y respectively; the latter also gives -u if the initial consonant is a labial: (235), 'district', ACh. -jⁱwək > P. ⟍jy, but (381), 'like', ACh. ⁻pⁱⁱuət > P. ⟍fu. P. 'kuo, 'country', (236), from ACh. ⁻kwək, seems at first sight irregular; but the explanation is merely that the -w- persisted as it normally does after a velar, and caused dissimilation of the ə, which was too close to the labial semivowel; the w must in this case have been more strongly consonantal than the -u- in (382), 'bone', ACh. ⁻kuət, which has given P. /ku.

When a nasal consonant follows, simple ə remains unaltered, as (383), 'can', ACh. ⎵nəŋ > P. 'nəŋ; if -j- precedes, the result is -i-, unless the initial be a retroflex, when it gives -ɿ-. ACh. uən and juən give P. un and yn respectively, both appearing as ən when a preceding labial absorbs the labial vowel: (384), 'bind', ACh. 'kʼuən > P. /kʼun, but (385), 'tree trunk', ACh. 'puən > P. /pən.

The vowel v never occurs in final position. Before a nasal final it gives ə, as (386), 'to cook', ACh. ⁻pʼvŋ > P. -pʼəŋ; but if -j- precedes, or a velar which disengages j before the vowel, the result is -i-, as (387), 'whale', ACh. ⎵gⁱvŋ > P. 'tɕʼiŋ; (472), 'walk', ACh. ⎵ɤvŋ > P. 'ɕiŋ. With a dental final the result is -iɛ-, as (388),

'sacrifice', ACh. `ˊxᶦvn > P. \ɕiɛn. Preceded by -jw- it gives -ya- if the final is -n, -i- if it is -ŋ; a labial initial here again absorbs the labial vowel, so that (290), 'float', ACh. `ˊpˊⁱwvm gives simply P. \fan; cf. (389), 'clamour', ACh. ⁻xⁱwvn > P. -ɕyan. When -ŋ follows, the result is invariably -i-, as (390), 'bright', ACh. ‿mⁱwvŋ > P. ˊmiŋ.

The vowel written â (i.e., ɔ) by Karlgren, which, however, the present writer (see preceding chapter) prefers to consider as the diphthong au, occurs only before a final velar, nasal or oral. It gives regularly a before a final nasal, -ɔ or -au (as alternatives) when originally followed by the oral velar k. The a appears simply as a after a labial initial, as ua after a retroflex, and as ia after a velar; e.g., (391), 'learn', ACh. ‿yauk > P. ˊɕio, ˊɕiau, or ˊɕyɛ; (392), 'country', ACh. ⁻pauŋ > P. -paŋ; (393), 'double', ACh. ⁻ʂauŋ > P. -ʂuaŋ. The evolution in the case of such words as (323), 'river', ACh. ⁻kauŋ, is: *ka:ŋ > *kaŋ > kⁱaŋ > ɕaŋ, and the last stage was already reached by the end of the Tˊang period. The development of the j before the a cannot have taken place much later, as we see from the Sino-Annamese form. The form with the palatal stop c- in due course led to the modern Pekingese -tɕiaŋ.

The old language seems never to have had the vowel u except before a final velar or as an element in a diphthong. Before -ŋ it remained unchanged everywhere unless the preceding consonant was a labial, in which case it is dissimilated to ə, e.g., (394), 'a bow', ACh. ⁻kⁱuŋ > P. -kuŋ, but (196), 'wind', ACh. ⁻pⁱuŋ > P. -fəŋ. Before k simple u remains unaltered but juk results in y after a velar initial, ou after a retroflex, remaining otherwise as u; e.g., (533), ACh. ⁻puk, 'divination', > P. -pu; (395), 'chrysanthemum', ACh. ⁻kⁱuk, > P. ˊtɕy; (432), 'meat', ACh. ‿nʒiuk, > P. \ɹou; (396), 'six', ACh. ‿lⁱuk > P. \lu (or \liu).

The Diphthongs and Triphthongs

Combinations of vowels were very common in the Ancient Chinese of the sixth century, and many of the vowels are not met with finally in the syllable except as component parts of diphthongs. The term is restricted here, arbitrarily, to descending diphthongs, i.e., to those cases in which the former part is the stressed or principal vowel, as it has been found more convenient to treat of a preceding -j- or -w-, even when they were without friction and therefore

vocalic rather than consonantal, in connection with the simple vowels on which their effects were exercised. Were it not so, we should have to speak of 'tetraphthongs' in such quite frequent combinations as *-jwɛi*.

The diphthongs *ai-* and *ai-* both result in modern *ai*, and, when the former vowel is long, i.e., in *a:i* and *a:i*, we often find simply *a* in Pekingese (regularly so in the Wu dialects); but there is no regularity in this development, and the *a* and *ai* representatives of ACh. *a:i* and *a:i* in modern Pekingese may also go back to a mixture of dialects. As with the simple vowel *a*, a *-j-* is developed when a velar precedes *ai* or *a:i*, resulting in P. *jɛ* and *ja* respectively; but *ai* and *a:i* are not so affected. Examples are: (397), 'to bury', ACh. *‿mai* > P. *'mai*; (398), 'stop', ACh. *‿ba:i* > P. *\pa*; (399), 'firewood', ACh. *dɹai* > P. *'tʂ'ai*; (400), 'proper', ACh. *‾kai* > P. *-kai*; (401), 'street', ACh. *‾ka:i* > P. *-tɕiɛ*. Combined with *u*, *a* gives modern *au*: (402), 'old', ACh. *,lau* > P. *⫽lau*; *au* gives the same result, except that *j* develops after an initial velar, as in (403), 'to hand over', ACh. *‾kau* > P. *-tɕiau*.

ei and *ie* are both reduced to simple *i*, or, after a retroflex consonant, to *ɹ*; e.g., (404), 'paper', ACh. *'tʃie* > P. *⫽tʂɹ*; (405), 'mechanism', ACh. *‾kjei* > P. *-tɕi*.

iei and *iɛi* both lead to P. *i*, or to *ɹ* when following a retroflex initial as in (406), 'low', ACh. *‾tiei* > P. *-ti*; (407), 'a generation', ACh. *\ʃiɛi* > P. *\ʂɹ*. Combined with *w*, as *jwei*, *jwɛi*, they result in *ui* in the first two tones of modern Pekingese, *uei* in the third and fourth; so we have (408), 'year', ACh. *'ʃ'wɛi* > P. *\ʂuei*. This development is identical with that of *jwi*, with which we have dealt under the simple vowel *i* above.

ə combines with *u* as *əu*, and gives in modern Pekingese *u* or *ou*, as (409), 'a mow' (superficial measure), ACh. *,məu* > P. *⫽mu* or *⫽mou*. If *j* precedes, the result is *iu*, as (410), 'nine', ACh. *'kⁱəu* > P. *⫽tɕiu*. Here again a preceding retroflex causes disappearance of the *i*, and the syllable develops as if it had not existed: (411), 'foul-smelling', ACh. *'tʃ'ⁱəu* > P. *\tʂ'ou*. So too, if the diphthong be preceded by a labial which combines with the *j* to give a fricative (*f* or *w*), the result is *u* or *ou*: (412), 'float', ACh. *‿bⁱəu* > P. *'fu* or *'fou*.

The combination *uo* gives uniformly *u*, as (413), 'bitter', ACh. *'k'uo* > P. *⫽k'u*; (414), 'pace', ACh. *,buo* > P. *\pu*.

MEDIEVAL AND MODERN CHINESE

The Tones

With the phonetic changes which we have just described, all tending to reduce the number of phonetically distinct syllables in the modern language which, in its Pekingese form, has fewer distinct syllables than there are in any other dialect except Hankow and Yangchow, one might have expected to see by way of compensation that the tonal system at least was maintained, possibly even extended, as a means of escaping from the difficulties caused by the occurrence of many homophones. What we find, however is just the reverse; wherever among the Chinese dialects the number of otherwise distinct syllables has been reduced by phonetic changes, there also we find that the tones tend to coalesce and become fewer; and on the other hand, where the Ancient Chinese vowels and consonants are best preserved, there too the tonal system is most complete. To this Pekingese is no exception. Its four tones are a very degenerate remnant of the six (or eight, if we count as separate tones the 'ju-sheng' of the ancient language) which we have seen reason to attribute to the language of the sixth century.

Not only is the tonal system of Pekingese so reduced that only four distinct tones are recognised in practice, but it is now known that it is usual in ordinary speech (though not in the recitation of literary texts) for only one word in each stress group to carry a distinctly uttered tone, the remainder of the syllables accommodating themselves to the sentence intonation. This stands in strong contrast with, e.g., Cantonese or Fuchow dialect, where every syllable is pronounced in its own distinct tone, or in one of a recognised scheme of variants.

In Pekingese, the Ancient Chinese even tone of the upper series remains unaltered (if it bears the phrase accent). The old lower even tone is now in fact an upper rising tone. The two rising tones have run together into a tone which starts with a low descending cadence and then rises as high as the last. The two falling ('departing') tones have also become one, a tone with an abrupt descent. There is, however, one complication in this scheme: words beginning with the old voiced occlusives or with the voiced fricative γ, which had in Ancient Chinese the lower rising tone (and which were therefore aspirated in Cantonese, where that tone is maintained in such words)

have in Northern Chinese moved into the falling tone, and have followed its evolutions in Pekingese; e.g., (415), 'two', ACh. *ˌlⁱaŋ* > P. */liaŋ*; but (416), 'angry', ACh. *ˌbⁱuən* > P. *\fən* (as if from **ˌbⁱuən*).

The disappearance of the final occlusives, complete in Pekingese, and also in most of the western and south-western parts of the Northern Chinese area, involved a change in the tone of the syllable. Already in A.D. 1324 a dictionary brought out in Honan but probably giving the sounds of the standard language redistributed the old ju-sheng words among the remaining tones, which seems to indicate that in the dialect represented not only the final consonant, but even its last remnant, the glottal stop, had disappeared, though it remains today in parts of that province. In the dialect of Hankow, the upper and lower ju-sheng tones have amalgamated into one, and this one has uniformly adopted the tone of the old lower even tone (though some speakers claim to recognise a distinction here).

In modern Pekingese, however, the ju-sheng are irregularly re-partitioned among the remaining four tones, and the principles of the distribution have not yet been satisfactorily worked out. In those which in Ancient Chinese had the lower tone, there is evident a segregation of words beginning with a vowel, a nasal consonant, or *l*, from those with occlusive, affricate or fricative initials. The former have in Pekingese generally moved into the fourth tone, *a*, corresponding to the old falling tones; the latter are now given the Pekingese second tone, '*a*. The discrimination, it will be seen, is along the lines dividing those initials which became devoiced in the passage from the old to the modern language from those, *m-*, *n-*, *ŋ-*, *ɲ-*, *ɲʑ-*, *l-*, which have remained voiced in all dialects, and is probably associated with this change. Exceptions on either side, among the lower tone ju-sheng words, are few. In the words corresponding to Ancient Chinese upper ju-sheng the position is less clear, and we can do little more than note that, where a literary and a more popular form exist side by side in Pekingese (as in (380), 'north', P. *po* and */pei*; (417), 'horn', P. '*tɕye* and */tɕiau*), the popular forms show some partiality for the third tone, /*a*, the more formal pronunciations going into the second ('*a*) and fourth (*a*); it may be therefore that the irregularity rests on a fusion of dialects such as would naturally take place in a capital city.

Liu Fu offers another explanation, which partly cuts across that

sketched in the foregoing paragraph. He finds that somewhat over 55% of ju-sheng words have the Pekingese tone \a; and, since the ju-sheng words have in some southern dialects a short falling cadence, he concludes that when the final consonant was completely lost, the obstacle to a greater length in the syllable was removed, so that the downward cadence was prolonged, and the words merged in the tone \a. But 45% of cases is too large a proportion of the whole to leave aside as exceptions; and it does not appear that Liu has distinguished the lower ju-sheng (in which some regularity may be seen) from the upper. He would similarly explain the paucity of originally ju-sheng words in the Pekingese 3rd tone (/a) by the fact that that tone begins at a very low pitch; this, however, is difficult to reconcile with the fact that it is precisely with a low inverted circumflex tone, somewhat similar in cadence to the Pekingese 3rd, that ju-sheng words are confused in Hankow.

Some order is brought into the confused evolution of the upper ju-sheng tones when we distinguish, as far as it is possible to do so, between words in popular use and those proper to the more literary language. Among the latter we find a decided preference for tone II ('lower even') in words with unaspirated occlusives or affricate initials, for tone IV ('falling') in words with aspirates, while the third ('rising') tone hardly occurs; popular words, however, show a tendency towards the upper level tone (I) with aspirated initials, while the unaspirated are again found mainly with tone II, with considerable minorities in both cases. Fu Mao-chi kindly brought to the writer's attention a dialect of Shantung which still keeps the upper and lower ju-sheng tones apart in regard to tones, and it seems not improbable that the key to the enigma is to be found in a mixture in Pekingese of an imported dialect in which upper and lower ju-sheng had fallen together with a local idiom in which they developed differently. Note also the observations of Bröring on the ju-sheng in Shantung dialects.

Most of the sound changes dealt with in this chapter are common to all varieties of Northern Chinese. But Pekingese has gone further in the direction of palatalisation in modern times, not later than 1500, and has made ɕ- out of all x- sounds which stand before a modern *i* or *y*, while *k*- and *k'*- in the same circumstances have become palatal affricates, *tɕ*- and *tɕ'*-. These changes have extended

their area among other varieties in north China, where, however, as in Szech'wan and Yünnan, a few *k*- forms still fight a losing battle; (401), 'street', P. *-tɕiai*, may still be heard as *-kai* in Yünnan. Almost the last formal recognition of the final *-m* in the standard dialect is to be found in a dictionary, the *Chung-yüan yin-yün*, which dates from the early 14th century. That the distinction in this work is no mere archaism is shown by its disregard of the old 'ju-sheng' with the occlusive finals, which was apparently already extinct in the standard dialect, though even now pronounced on the lower Yangtsze and in parts of the north-west, and of extreme importance in the verse of the T'ang era.

The Sung period was noteworthy above all for its conservatism, and the tendency prevailing under the following Mongol dynasty to cultivate the colloquial language at the expense of the literary may be in part due to reaction against excessive archaism. The Mongols rapidly made themselves masters of the spoken language of the north, and it was probably the influence of this people, little addicted to literary culture, which gave rise to the Chinese drama and novel, both based on the vernacular and far removed from the scholarly written language. A contributory factor was doubtless Buddhist evangelisation, which made much use of an easy, almost colloquial style in works addressed to the less educated. The native Sung dynasty had not only fixed the canon of interpretation of the classical Confucian texts, but also stabilised the written language in a form which has until this century altered only in points of detail where serious literature is concerned. The fixation of the language of literature and its divorce from the contemporary spoken language is no doubt to be connected with the extension of the area of Chinese and with the spread of literary culture, whereby writers widely separated in space and no longer using the same colloquial language began to contribute to its literature. It was thus necessary, if literary works were to be understandable in every part of the Chinese domain, that localisms should be avoided, and that there should exist some norm for the written style. Such a norm could be found only in the older writings, for it did not exist in a common spoken language. The development of the Chinese written style is therefore parallel with that of the Greek literary language from our second century onwards, when literary authors reverted to the use of Attic and abandoned the

living language of their own day; and it is probable that the causes in operation were similar in the two cases.

It follows that we may no longer look to the language of literature as a guide to the changes which were taking place, or which were gaining acceptance in the spoken language. It is all the more fortunate, therefore, for the linguist that we have, from the fourteenth century onwards, works that made no pretension to literary style as then conceived. The novels, which begin to appear in the earlier centuries of the modern period,—they had been preceded by a somewhat more literary drama—aimed uniquely at entertainment, and in this aim some of them were eminently successful as is proved by the continued production of editions up to the present. We must not take it for granted, especially in the earlier works in this genre, that the language employed is precisely that of everyday speech; for the art of writing exactly as one speaks does not lie ready to the hand, and literary style is hard to suppress. But such works give us a minimum value for the extent to which writers could approach the colloquial language in writing. We have given specimens taken from two of these novels in Appendix III, and we shall here attempt to set out the way in which their style differs from the literary language in the direction of the colloquial.

The language of the *San Kuo Chih Yen I*, or *History of the Three Kingdoms*, of Lo Kuan-ching, is still largely the classical literary language, even when direct speech is reported. This is probably due in the main to the reasons suggested in the above paragraph, but in the case of this novel, dealing as it does with events of an age already long past, the writer may have felt that a certain archaism was not inappropriate. Its slight departures from the language of literature—for the Chinese have never, until recent times, reckoned novels as literature—are probably therefore all the more significant. The grammatical words (including the pronouns and the adverbial finals) are still those of the classical language, but the vocabulary is simpler and consists more largely of words still colloquially current. Compound words, and particularly that type of compound which characterises the modern vernaculars, the juxtaposition of words almost synonymous, are more common than in the written language of this or of much later periods, and are introduced even when they destroy rather than help the rhythmic balance of the clauses. Classifiers are more freely

used with numerals, but numeral and classifier still regularly take their place after the substantive. Here and there we find expressions, such as (418), P. *'na li*, 'there', which come direct from the spoken language.

A century and a half later, Wu Ch'êng-ên (1500–1582) produced a fantasy, the *Hsi Yu Chi*, or *Narrative of a Western Journey*, the popularity of which has rivalled that of the *San Kuo*. The language here is so completely different from the terse style of literature that we cannot refuse to see in it a very faithful record of the everyday speech of the sixteenth century, differing only in minor particulars from the Northern Chinese of today. The synonym compound is in regular use: balance of phrases is neglected, at least in the conversational parts; the grammatical words (pronouns with their plurals in (71), P. *'mən*; interrogatives, and verbal auxiliaries) are those now employed in the standard language. The genitive relation is expressed by (419), P. *ti*. The numeral or demonstrative with its classifier has taken up its modern position before the noun, as in (420), P. -*sankə* *jyɛ*, 'three months'. The word (28), P. */tsɤ*, is suffixed as a diminutive to other nouns, as in the modern language. In every single particular in which modern Northern Chinese, pronunciation apart, differs from the language of Han or T'ang times, this work of the sixteenth century is Modern Chinese.

A work translated, probably in the fourteenth century, from the Mongol into Chinese, however, already exemplifies most of the above approaches towards the present spoken language of north China. It offers, moreover, interesting and important intermediate stages in the evolution of the modern plural forms of the personal pronouns,—*/wo 'mən* (184–71), 'we', */ni 'mən* (155–71), 'you', etc. The word *'mən* does not appear in this document, but in its stead we have */mei* (124), lit. 'every', similarly placed after the pronoun, and even after a substantive, as in *mu /mei* (12–71), 'trees'. Haenisch is of the opinion that the modern *'mən* evolved from this use of */mei*; but one may suggest that, so far as concerns the plural forms of the pronouns, the modern usage goes back rather to the fuller phrase */mei 'ɹən* (124–73), 'each person' > 'all persons', and is thus a parallel formation to the plural forms in modern Min (where we have the equivalents in local pronunciation of P. */ni kə 'ɹən* (155–125–73), 'you each person'; this suggestion has been in part antici-

pated by Wang Ching-ju. A further compression of the plural forms with *'mən* seems also to have given rise, by a process of telescoping, to the originally plural pronouns *ʃan* (now dialectal), 'I', and *ʃnin* (154), the polite form for the second person. The transference of the last word to its present use as a singular of respect is curiously parallel to the development of the usage of pronouns in English and other European languages.

As we cannot suppose this complete change in the syntax and great modification in the vocabulary of Chinese to have occurred within the century and a half which separates the *Hsi Yu Chi* from the *San Kuo*, while only minor innovations occurred in the next four centuries, we are forced to the only alternative view, that in this work we have the earliest record preserved to us of changes probably already accomplished in the less formal standard speech from the end of the T'ang era. It is difficult not to believe that these far-reaching syntactical innovations were associated with the equally profound sound changes which, as we have seen, were already accepted in the standard of speech in Chou Tê-ch'ing's dictionary of the year 1324. The association is partly that of cause and effect, for the phonetic impoverishment of the language necessitated other devices, such as word combination and classifiers, to distinguish words as they became homophonous. But the two processes must have kept pace with each other; the language did not first become unintelligible and then seek for remedies, and on general grounds it is probable that we should reverse the logical order of change: the existence of other means of discrimination between words rendered it so much the less needful to insist on phonetic distinctions, and, if these distinctions were not common to a wide area, their loss tended towards the unification of the language over a larger part of the country. And, if we are correct in seeing the causes of the disintegration of the old sound system in the adoption of the language by a numerically superior population to whom its pronunciation was novel and therefore difficult, then that same language, the form of Chinese used by the lower social stratum originally, also supplied the remedies which have now become an integral part of Chinese.

What we gather from the dictionaries as to the pronunciation of Chinese in medieval and early modern times is confirmed and largely extended by the use to which Chinese characters were put to re-

present foreign sounds in a number of vocabularies, some of which have recently been published and annotated by Edwards and Blagden. The authors named attribute these word lists to the fifteenth century, and a colophon recording their revision in 1550 places an upper limit to their date. It is very fortunate for our purposes that one of the languages so recorded, Malay, is a particularly static language in the matter of phonology, having apparently long ago attained equilibrium and showing little sound movement in modern times. It is all the more remarkable that the phonetic value deduced for the characters used to write Malay sounds indicate equally little change in Chinese phonology during the last five hundred years. Tones, of course, are not indicated in these texts, Malay having none to represent, and the phrases are too short to illustrate syntax.

One of the few modern changes which has not yet been accepted in the standard language of these vocabularies in the fifteenth century is the palatalisation of velars before a following a or i vowel, and of h (x) or s before the latter. Voiced occlusives were already devoiced in Chinese, so that the word (421), for instance (ACh. ^{-}ka, P. $-t\varphi ia$), is used to indicate the Malay sounds gah, $g\check{e}$, as well as ka; but it never represents a Malay initial tf- or $d\check{z}$-. Malay has frequent instances of words ending in a glottal stop or in a fully occlusive consonant; there appears to be some slight tendency on the part of the compilers to use Chinese words which once had occlusive endings in these cases, but many instances to the contrary, even when other Chinese words are ready to hand, show that the glottal stop must at that period have been at least moribund in the standard dialect. A Malay $-m$ is often spelt with a Chinese word still having $-m$ in the southern dialects, but now levelled under $-n$ in Pekingese; but there are many cases in which such words are represented by Chinese words in $-n$ or even in $-\eta$. A phonological feature of these transcriptions which serves to reassure us in case we should doubt whether we are in fact dealing with a direct ancestor of modern Pekingese is the use of (29), ACh. $\_{}n\check{z}ie$, P. $'\partial\textsl{4}$, in a way which corresponds exactly with its modern phonetic effects in Pekingese. It is used to represent a final $-r$ in Malay, and in such cases it is subjoined to characters with vocalic or with dental nasal finals thus showing that, just as happens in modern Pekingese, the final dental

was elided in such circumstances, and that the *'ₐɪ* was no longer syllabic, but simply *ɪ*.

Transcriptions dating from the latter part of the thirteenth century, in which Chinese words are represented in an alphabet (now disused) adapted from the Tibetan for the Mongol language confirm these conclusions in part, but the Mongol renderings of Chinese sounds are not free of suspicion of archaism, since Chinese renderings of Central Asian names of the same period indicate a language closer to that of modern times. The Mongol spellings show final -*m* still distinct from -*n*, and ACh. _*ŋӡie* as *i*, although when the Chinese used the same character to spell foreign names it stands for the final -*r*, just as it did a century later in the foreign vocabularies.

Much the same picture emerges from the Chinese loan-words in Manchu, though the material is less easy to interpret because of uncertainty of the date of most of the borrowings, and again because of an archaising tendency in the transcription of the more literary loans. The palatalisation of velar initials before front vowels may, however, be dated with some certainty to the early 17th century, although literary loans still show the old velars, with some instances of hyper-correction, i.e., a velar introduced where no such sound had ever existed in Chinese, as late as the mid 18th century. Schmidt attributes some of these sound changes in Northern Chinese and the parallel evolution of sounds in Manchu to a substratum underlying both languages; this is not in itself unlikely, but the possibility that Chinese as spoken by the Manchu conquerors and adapted to their speech habits may have acted on Chinese as a superstratum, at least to the extent of encouraging one Chinese variety against another, cannot be excluded; such an action is very plausibly traced in the development of northern French.

We may conclude, therefore, that the standard Chinese dialect, was already in the fifteenth century pronounced substantially as it is today, and that the Pekingese of those times would have had little difficulty in understanding their present-day descendants. This is in marked contrast with the great gulf which separates the language shown by these vocabularies from the standard of five centuries earlier, which would have been almost certainly unintelligible to the man of fifteenth century Peking; and this contrast indicates an age of revolutionary change in the interval.

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CHAPTER X

THE MODERN DIALECTS

For reasons which will be apparent later, any attempt to represent the relationship of one dialect to another schematically, on the analogy of a genealogical tree, must be inadequate, and may be seriously misleading. Any grouping, therefore, must be understood to repose entirely on convenience, and merely brackets together for ease of reference forms of speech which are more or less clearly marked off from their congeners by important isoglosses, i.e., lines dividing geographically dialects which have some particular feature of phonology, morphology, or vocabulary, from those which do not exhibit that feature.

In this work I have used the terms dialect and language to a large extent interchangeably; and it is, in fact, not easy to offer satisfactory definitions of the two words which will oppose them clearly to one another. Their difference in common usage is based mostly on political and historical accidents, and the title of language is generally confined to a form of speech which has become the standard of a politically independent state or which at least has been the vehicle of a noteworthy literature. Neither of these two events in itself, although it may have important linguistic consequences, is necessarily of linguistic significance; and the lines of demarcation so traced may or may not conform with the major isoglosses of the region. Provençal, for instance, has had a flourishing medieval and modern literature, and for that reason is admitted to the status of language; Gascon, the divergence of which from standard French is just as marked, is regarded as a dialect. Galego is nearer akin to Portuguese than to Castilian, but it is more commonly reckoned as a Spanish than as a Portuguese dialect because its territory is politically Spanish; in fact but for the accident of the political independence of Portugal and the cultivation of the language of Lisbon in literature, we might have heard of a Lusitanian dialect rather than of a Portuguese language. Finally, we remember the decision of an Australian court to the effect that Scottish Gaelic is a mere dialect and not a European language, and therefore unsuitable as a test of literacy.

The word dialect is, in fact, a relative term; a form of speech is a dialect in relation to some other form with which it is seen to be allied, whether that other form be the standard speech of the linguistic area, another language which follows its own independent line of development, or the patois of another locality. The selection of one regional form of a language as the norm of a whole area, as when London gave its norm to English or Florence to Italian, is from the point of view of the linguist a historical accident. Such an elevation of one regional form at the expense of others, does, however, have far-reaching linguistic effects. The others cease to be used in literature and finally in serious discourse; their vocabulary and syntax are reduced to what is necessary for the purposes of an unlettered community, or cease to grow beyond that point, the more cultured speakers in each locality using as best they can the standard dialect. When this stage has been reached the local speech has sunk into a patois, which is then more susceptible of clear definition than is a dialect. Viewed in the light of this statement, many of the different forms of Chinese must still be considered as so many separate languages, not as patois; not used in serious literature since the written parted company from the spoken language, they are still in most cases the speech medium of all within their respective boundaries, and each has its own pronunciation for the whole of the Chinese classical vocabulary. The man of Fuchow, for instance, in reading a classical poem, uses the 'book' pronunciation of his own dialect, and does not attempt to copy the Pekingese pronunciation in reading, even if he happens to be thoroughly conversant with that dialect. Moreover, these dialects differ from each other more than do many groups of European languages which are nevertheless universally reckoned as distinct languages.

It follows that in an age with a tendency to centralisation the regional dialects will have no history but decay and piecemeal replacement by the standard speech of the cultural centre; and especially so when the cultural centre and the regional dialect remain under one political control. One will not, therefore, expect to find in non-standard dialects as rigid an adherence to phonetic laws as in the case of two (politically) distinct languages; it might be better to say that the discovery of phonetic laws is more difficult because the influence of the standard speech from time to time

destroys local forms which diverge furthest from its norms, re-placing them by forms more closely approaching the standard, though seldom identical with it. Parisian French and Florentine Italian started from a common basis in Vulgar Latin and each has developed along its own lines without interference, despite a few borrowings in each case from neighbouring dialects, while the patois of each country have come in the course of time to contain numerous forms not freely evolved in situ from the common basis and in obedience to the phonetic laws of the district, but imported with more or less adaptation from the standard dialect at various periods. Certain of the Chinese dialects are similarly in an advanced stage of decay, so that it is only in a minority of their forms that one sees the authentic evolution of the regional speech, many of the forms having been dislodged to make way for forms approximating to the standard dialect of one or another period; for, as we have seen, the history of Chinese is the more complicated because the place of standard dia-lect was usurped at one time by one not in the direct line of descent. In dialects which have thus suffered, it is among the 'vulgar' forms that we must as a rule look for the direct representatives of the older language grown on local soil; and such forms, so far from being, as Giles said, mere popular corruptions in which 'no philological fact is involved', are in many instances the principal witnesses to the free development of sounds in the dialect.

There is no logical limit to the subdivision of a language into dia-lects. Even inside one city it is so often possible to discriminate local varieties; the Western Suburbs form of Cantonese is easy to dis-tinguish from that of Honam just across the river to the south. But there are certain major lines of demarcation, isoglosses delimiting areas within which certain sounds have evolved in such widely different ways as to change completely the physiognomy of the language. Communications over an isoglossal line being thus often difficult, such areas tend to become self-contained in the matter of vocabulary also, and the distinction of dialect is intensified. It is out of the question to describe or even to enumerate the almost number-less forms of Chinese, and attention will be confined to the more im-portant isoglossal areas.

An interesting point regarding the Chinese dialects, and one in which they often differ from the speech of nearly all other highly

civilised communities, is the absence of social distinctions in those which are not yet in process of replacement by the standard language. It is, therefore, not possible in the case of Cantonese, Hakka, or the Min dialects to detect the social condition or education of a speaker by his pronunciation or syntax; there is nothing analogous to the 'dropping of the h', or the confusion of number in the verb which divides uneducated London speech from standard English. This will not imply that the more educated person will not use a more extensive vocabulary, or that his speech will not contain more phrases of a literary flavour; but merely that, in so far as educated and uneducated use the same words, their sounds and sentence construction will be the same. This statement is less true of the northern languages: of Shanghai, where Northern Chinese is gradually pushing out the regional speech, and, reasonably enough, of Pekingese, the speech of the old capital, where social distinctions have established themselves during the centuries, and show themselves in such differences of pronunciation as we have noted in the last chapter. The otiose addition of the diminutive suffix (29), /ɹ, in Pekingese may also distinguish the popular speech from that of the more educated people, who prefer (28), /tsɹ.

This characteristic of the Chinese dialects is probably to be connected with the fact that the educated have throughout the centuries laid all stress on the written word, and allowed the spoken language to evolve without hindrance of any standard form of speech. In such circumstances in any given dialectal area class dialects will work themselves out in the course of time; social changes will have had time to diffuse one uniform language throughout the local community, for a hereditary aristocracy has not existed in China since the T'ang dynasty at the latest. The result of this freedom from external influence will be a state of equilibrium within the speech-group, an equilibrium not likely to be again disturbed except by a renewal of external action, as when an alien people is incorporated among the speakers of the dialect, or when the language of another region achieves pre-eminence and is adopted as the standard of speech. When this happens (and we may now see the initial stages of the process in the recognition of Pekingese as the 'national language', *kuo-yü*, of China), the effect is to disintegrate the unity of speech within the dialectal area. The speakers will begin to differ again be-

tween themselves in the thoroughness with which they acquire the new standard, and a new distinction of social dialect will arise. If the process of imposition of the standard continues long enough, and is sufficiently intense, the result will be the complete elimination of the earlier speech of the locality; but history offers few examples of such complete levelling. More commonly the process, which may well require centuries, is interrupted, by a disruption of the political unity, and then the local dialect, more or less modified by the standard, may come again into its own; or the process may be continued, but with a different regional dialect as norm. The history of the Chinese dialects affords examples of both the latter events, and probably of the first, the complete supersession of the local speech by that of a political centre; though evidence of the last is in the nature of things more difficult to procure.

Except for Hakka, the dialects commonly known by name are those of areas surrounding large commercial centres; and it was plainly practical convenience rather than linguistic considerations which dictated this partition of the language. But on the whole the division on these lines works well enough. A dialect confined to an area of no commercial importance may be of great linguistic interest, and such is the case with certain dialects of the far north-west of the Chinese area; but such a dialect may well go unrecorded, especially if its speakers are few, until we have a linguistic atlas of China. Such a vast undertaking is hardly to be hoped for in the near future.

It has been usual, at least in popular works, to divide the dialects of Chinese into two groups, viz., 'Mandarin' in the north, embracing all the varieties spoken to the north and west of the coastal provinces of Kiangsu, Chehkiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, and in parts of Kwangsi; and the dialects par excellence, spoken in those coastal provinces. The term 'Mandarin', a translation of P. -kuan \xua, (422), 'official language', or, more exactly 'officials' language', is unsatisfactory as an appellative to cover all the local varieties in the wide northern region; in late imperial times, the -kuan \xua was in effect Pekingese, and that also is the standard now recognised as the 'national language', P. 'kuo /jy, (423). As such, the terms can hardly include the well-marked local varieties of Nanking or Chungking, much less those of Sian or south Shansi, decrepit as the latter now are. I have there-

fore adopted the less ambiguous term 'Northern Chinese' where it has been necessary to find one name to cover these dialects of the Yangtsze basin and northwards, which do in many particulars oppose a united front to the other dialects. Northern Chinese has been subdivided into a northern and a southern form; sometimes a western form is distinguished in an area cut off from the latter. The opposition of Northern Chinese to the southern (coastal) dialects taken en bloc is again unfortunate, as many of the features which can be taken as distinctive of the two groups as wholes are superficial and of relatively modern growth, while many of the coastal dialects differ more fundamentally among themselves than some, such as Cantonese, differ from Northern Chinese.

It was long ago recognised (by Edkins) that the dialects of the Yangtsze estuary region (which we shall name the Wu dialects, from the name of the ancient kingdom once centred there) have in common a feature preserved from very ancient times, but elsewhere lost, the voiced initial consonants. After this beginning, little was done until recent years in the classification of the dialects, at least if by classification we mean something more than mere enumeration. One short essay on the subject, however, that of Y. R. Chao in the *Geographical Journal* of 1943, must be mentioned. Chao's sketch, based, as its author informs me, largely on the essay of Li Fang-kuei, is not intended as anything more than a popular simplification. But any representations of dialectal boundaries in map form are, unavoidably, inadequate, for the reason that frontiers of basic importance, such as those separating the Wu (and Anhwei) dialects from the remainder, are given equal prominence with those distinguishing the comparatively minor varieties of Northern Chinese, or the southern and northern groups of Min (Fukien); no one, for instance, would guess from such a map that Cantonese is more closely related to Northern Chinese than it is to Hakka, nor even that Hakka forms with Cantonese and the southern dialects of Min a sort of minor unity in which final consonants are preserved with some fidelity, while the Min dialects as a whole form with Hakka a still larger unity in regard to the treatment of the voiced initial occlusives. It is because the major isoglossal lines seldom coincide with each other that we find a dialect agreeing with one or another group according to the particular phenomena selected for comparison. The boundaries on a

map must necessarily be conventional and somewhat arbitrary, and a scientific classification must depend on an estimate of the relative importance of the points of difference and on a historical reconstruction of their development.

Even in Karlgren's monumental work, *Etude sur la Phonologie chinoise*, many local varieties of Chinese, including some which the present writer considers to be of importance, are omitted or not fully dealt with; and it is manifestly impossible to deal with all. We shall therefore select a limited number of dialect types sufficiently close together to ensure that no isogloss of importance is omitted, yet sufficiently far apart, in space and in character, to prevent confusion with minor details. Such a selection will itself be ruled by antecedent estimates of the importance of the dialectal features, and to that extent will fall short of perfect objectivity; but this is unavoidable. We shall deal, then, with the following groups, representative of the dialectal types generally recognised:

i. Northern Chinese, the most important member of which we have examined in the last chapter, and the remaining forms of which will be surveyed hereunder.

ii. Under the same heading we shall deal with the Chin dialects of southern Shansi, which, though marked off from general Northern Chinese by only one isogloss of importance, are of considerable historical interest; and varieties such as those of Sian and southern Anhwei, which are probably to be regarded as 'captured' dialects, i.e., dialects which had fundamentally an independent history, but which have become assimilated to Northern Chinese while still keeping traces of independent origin in their phonology;

iii. Cantonese, with reference also to the dialect of Sze-Yap, to the west of the Canton River delta, generally regarded as a minor variety of Cantonese, but presenting some curious features approximating to those of Hainanese just where the latter departs from the rest of the Min dialects;

iv. Suchow, as typifying the Wu dialects;

v. The dialects of Min (Fukien), typified by Fuchow for the more northerly sub-group, by Amoy for the southern; with reference also to the very aberrant dialect of Hainan;

vi. Hakka, of which fairly uniform language we take the variety spoken in San-On (Hong-Kong territory); we must, however, con-

sider, as possibly a transition form, or as a captured dialect, the speech of Tingchow in western Fukien.

Yünnan and Kweichow provinces lie largely outside our sphere, Chinese being there of too recent introduction to allow of the fixation of local peculiarities, and being, in fact, a generalised form of Northern Chinese, with few peculiarities not found in the Northern Chinese spoken in the rest of western China. In addition to the dialects listed above, there will be frequent reference to what, for want of a better name, I have labelled 'T'ang Min', thereby indicating a second stratum in the Min dialects, introduced by refugee scholars from north China on the downfall of the T'ang dynasty. Its peculiarities will be more fully explained in the sections dealing with the Min dialects, but for the present it will suffice to say that these dialects have two pronunciations for most of their vocabulary, the strength of this second stratum varying from one Min dialect to another.

The phonetic changes which have occurred each in one or more of the dialect groups, and which have most deeply changed their physiognomy from the type of Ancient Chinese, may be set out as follows:

i. Confusion and disappearance of final occlusives;

ii. Confusion and disappearance of final nasals;

iii. The retention of the earlier aspirated sonant initials in the Wu dialects, their development into the corresponding unvoiced consonants elsewhere, with aspiration in all cases in Hakka, in certain conditions only in Northern Chinese and Cantonese;

iv. The development into fricatives of the Ancient Chinese initials *pjw-*, *p'jw-*, *bjw-* in some dialects, and their retention as simple *p-* in others, and a corresponding difference in the treatment of *mjw-*;

v. The partial denasalisation of nasal initials in Chin, and complete denasalisation in T'ang Min.

The first two of these phenomena, being of purely negative nature, may well have arisen independently and from different causes in various parts of the Chinese area; and they are consequently of little diagnostic value. That the evolution (iii) is in the standard language of comparatively modern date may be seen from Sino-Japanese and Sino-Annamese, both of which ignore it, while the latter shows clearly the development of fricatives (iv). The phonetic change (v) was

apparently the rule in the northern variety from which Japanese borrowed its kan-on reading of the characters, though unknown to Sino-Korean and Sino-Annamese, the one earlier, the other later than the kan-on. As it is inherently improbable that one and the same dialect should, without external influences, have altered the nasal to the oral consonant, and then, of all possible further directions of phonetic change, should have taken the line which exactly reversed the process, it follows that the Japanese and T'ang Min forms (unless the latter were independently evolved, which again, in view of the rarity of this sound change, cannot be regarded as probable) must be due to another Chinese dialect, possibly no longer extant in the whole of its former region. It is to be inferred that already at the time of the Japanese borrowings (seventh-ninth centuries), there existed a dialect which denasalised its initials and another which did not; but that a differential treatment of voiced stops according to tone was not a prevailing feature of any form of Chinese which served as a basis for the foreign dialects. The latter phenomenon must therefore take a secondary place among the criteria used in classifying the dialects.

We therefore take as our primary line of division the isogloss which separates dialects in which *pjw-*, etc., appear as *f-* (or as *h-*, possibly standing for earlier *f-*) from those in which they remain as simple *p-*. The latter group consists of the Min dialects only; all others show the fricative in such cases. We next divide the latter group into two parts according as they do or do not treat the aspirated voiced occlusives differently according to the tone of the word: (424), 'frugal', ACh. ₍g'εm, gives unaspirated initials in P. /tɕiεn and C. _ki:m; while (425), 'to hold with tongs', is aspirated in P. 'tɕ'iεn, C. ₍k'i:m, the former having an Ancient Chinese falling tone, the latter an even; but Wênchow (Wu group) has *dʒiε* and Hakka has *k'iam*, for both words. The former category includes Northern Chinese and Cantonese (though the treatment is not precisely the same in the two dialects), and the latter all the other dialects (Min having been already separated on other grounds). The group which treats all tones alike in this respect is again subdivided into dialects which lose the aspirate everywhere (T'ang Min), and those which retain it everywhere (with devocalisation of the consonant), as Hakka and Tingchow. Min parts company with Wu when it de-

voices the initial occlusives in the lower tones. Northern Chinese
and Cantonese have held together so far, except for the minor differ-
ence in the aspiration referred to above, but they differ in their treat-
ment of ACh. *mjw-*, which in the north, already during the T'ang
epoch, was on its way to the modern *w-*, while Cantonese, like the
rest of China except under Northern Chinese influence, retained *m-*.

We have now arrived at the main lines of classification, and the
results may be set out schematically as follows:
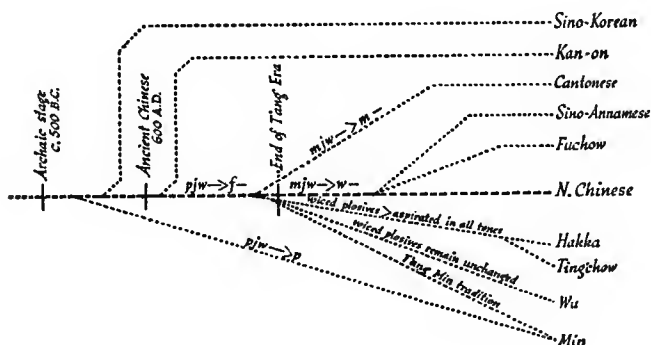
I must stress the point that this diagram does not represent a
family tree of the dialects, their historical relations being impossible
to represent in that form; it is merely mnemonic, and the following
facts, all due to the irregular crossing of isoglosses, will show the
difficulties which we raise if we attempt to treat the dialects as so
many branching forms from one root. The Tingchow dialect, which
is so close to Hakka that it might be called a sub-dialect if we look no
further than those points of agreement, yet diverges from it in im-
portant particulars; it agrees with Cantonese in adding to the *f-* de-
rived from ACh. *pjw-*, etc., another *f-* from *k'w- > xw-*, rare in
Hakka and unknown to Northern Chinese. This might, if it were an
isolated case, be dismissed as a fortuitous convergence, of no more
significance than the representation of Indo-European *pt* by *xt* in
both Dutch and Gaelic (Gaelic *seacht*, 'seven'; Dutch *zaacht*, 'soft').
But the above diagram obscures the fact that Northern Chinese,
agreeing (generally) with Cantonese in the differential treatment of
the aspirated voiced consonants according to their tone, yet diverges
from it on the undoubtedly ancient development *mjw- > w-*, in

which Cantonese take sides with less closely related dialects. Again, Tingchow, though so near in many respects to Hakka, has as few final occlusives as any Northern Chinese dialect. These tangles are sufficient to show how far the metaphor of a family tree misleads; and the diagrammatic representation tells us nothing about the chronology of the changes. We have no knowledge, for instance, that T'ang Min branched off at a point of time corresponding with the differentiation of Wu and Hakka.

Northern Chinese, of which Pekingese is the best known variety and one of the more extreme types, is, if we disregard minor variations within its area, the most widely diffused form of Chinese. With the educational policy of the Republic, which seeks to effect the extermination of the dialects by teaching Pekingese as the standard in schools, the Northern form is likely to become still more important. Generally speaking, it is the language not only of all China Proper north of the Yangtsze (except for the small Wu enclave in Kiangsu), of Hupeh and Hunan (again excepting a small district around the Tung-ting lake, where is spoken what Li Fang-kuei calls the Hsiang dialect), of a portion of Anhwei on the south bank of the Yangtsze, and of Kiangsi except for its most easterly corner and a few scattered Hakka areas. It is the form of speech most general among Chinese settled in the hardly sinicised provinces of Kweichow and Yünnan, and the form carried by them to all newly colonised areas on the continent north of Annam (Vietnam); that is to say, it is the language of Chinese settlers in Manchuria, Szech'wan, and parts of Inner Mongolia, as well as in Hsinkiang.

If we adopt the threefold division of Northern Chinese, the form commonly known as 'Southern Mandarin' occupies the southern part of Kiangsu, Anhwei south of the river Hwei and north by the Wu boundary, the south-east corner of Hupeh, and all Kiangsi not occupied by Wu or Hakka dialects. The western form covers the southern part of Hupeh, the whole of Hunan except the so-called Hsiang dialect area, and Szech'wan south of Chengtu, with extensions into the provinces of Kweichow and Yünnan. The remainder of northern China, although itself showing marked differences from one district to another, is regarded as speaking the northern variety.

Not only in the northern part of this large area, but even in the southern and western divisions, Pekingese is extending its area at the

expense of the regional varieties of speech. Some of the principal isoglosses cut right across the divisions here outlined; for instance, the complete loss even of the glottal stop as the last remnant, tone apart, of the old final occlusives, marks a broad belt from Hupeh in the north down to the Yangtsze region in the neighbourhood of Hankow, and includes the whole of the western area, but leaves a region of glottal stops on its north-western flank, and its counterpart in the 'Southern Mandarin' and Wu areas to the south-east.

That part of Shantung which still remains untouched by Pekingese influence might reasonably claim to speak the most archaic Chinese in the Northern Chinese area. This is true both in regard to vocabulary —Mateer states that it uses fewer words not officially provided with characters in the dictionaries than any other known to him—and also in phonetics. It has escaped the modern palatalisation of Pekingese, and thus, for instance, still gives an occlusive in the word (417), for 'horn', P. *'tɕio*, but Shantung *'ciɔˤ*. It has also kept distinct the original palatal and retroflex sounds now confused in other northern dialects.

The velar occlusives are still to be heard in the more popular pronunciations of Nanking and other Yangtsze areas in cases where Pekingese has *tɕ-*, but they are giving way before the palatalised forms. The most curious general feature of the Yangtsze region is the confusion of *l-* and *n-*. Probably we have here in most cases a peculiar form of *l-* uttered with lowered velum; such a sound will certainly be interpreted as either *l-* or *n-* by speakers to whom it is strange. This confusion is most in evidence in the east and west extremities of the Yangtsze region. Confusion of final *-n* and *-ŋ*, except perhaps after an *a* vowel, is also general in the south; but is by no means confined to it, and is to be found even in the province of Hopeh. In vocabulary, 'Southern Mandarin' approximates to the southern coastal dialects, especially to Cantonese and Hakka; e.g., the passive formation by (56), P. *pei*, 'suffer', which is felt to be somewhat 'bookish' in the north, where (57), P. *ʂou*, 'to receive', is more commonly used.

Apart from the above phonological differences between Northern Chinese as spoken in the various parts of its area the most conspicuous departures from Pekingese are in the matter of the tones. In Hankow the old upper level tone, preserved as such in Pekingese,

has assumed a rising inflection; the old lower level (now upper rising in Peiping) is here an inverted circumflex, somewhat like the Pekingese third tone; the Hankow tone corresponding to the ancient upper and lower rising is in fact a lower falling tone; and the old falling tones, both upper and lower (the Pekingese fourth tone) are in Hankow upper level. Most distinct is the treatment of the old ju-sheng tones, those used with syllables which had occlusive finals in Ancient Chinese. The consonantal final is lost in Hankow as completely as in Pekingese, but, whereas in Peiping there is little regularity observable in the repartition of the words among the remaining tones, Hankow assimilates them all, upper and lower, to the tone which answers to the old lower level. When it is remembered that the dialect of Hankow differs from the standard also in other respects, as in the nasal l and in the change of final $-\eta$ after certain vowels to $-n$, it becomes apparent that the dialectal variations within the Northern Chinese area are by no means inconsiderable.

The tones of south-west Northern Chinese as represented by the dialect of Chungking, though not identical in acoustic effect with those of Pekingese, correspond tone for tone with them, with the exception that the ju-sheng remain apart as lower rising tones (without other trace of the old final consonant), agreeing uniformly with the old lower even tone in cadence. The old upper even remains unchanged; the rising tones are both middle falling (\a), and the upper and lower falling tones both 'a. The old lower even tone ('a in Pekingese) is ,a in Szech'wan.

The tones in Nanking approximate to those of the Wu dialects which adjoin its area, and show the ancient system better preserved. Nanking represents the final occlusives of the ju-sheng words by the glottal stop, and the correspondence of its tones with those of Ancient Chinese may be set out as follows:

ACh.	⁻a	'a	`a	⁻ak	_a	,a	ˌa	_ak
Nanking	ˌa	⁻a	⌐\a	⁻aˁ	√a	_a	⌐`a	⁻aˁ

These sub-dialects show the main varieties of tonal systems within the Northern Chinese region, but they by no means exhaust them. Even within the province to which Pekingese is native we find, for instance, that the old falling tones (the Pekingese 4th) are pronounced as very high level tones; and in eastern Mongolia this tonal variety co-

exists with an 'over-aspiration' of aspirates, which thus become affricates (*kx-*, etc.), and with a confusion of final nasals, spontaneously or by assimilation.

The north-western corner of the Northern Chinese domain is of peculiar interest, as that area (eastern Kansuh, Shansi, and Shensi) probably saw the first Chinese settlements within the borders of China Proper; and because within it is contained an area, part of Shansi southwards of T'ai-yüan, which still retains a feature once more widespread which may be of great importance in explaining the historical relations to each other of the Chinese dialects. This southern Shansi area with the adjacent parts of Shensi and Honan, into which this particular feature extends, contained the imperial capitals of the earlier dynasties; and we remember that the *Ts'ie-yün* dictionary on which so much of our knowledge of Ancient Chinese depends was a product of this area. Within the part of Shansi referred to is spoken a dialect for which I have tentatively used the name of 'Chin' (426), from the name of the old feudal state which formerly occupied its place, and which has as its most remarkable feature the denasalisation of ACh. *m-*, *n-*, *ŋ-*, *ɲʑ-*, into *mb-*, *nd-*, *ŋg-*, *ɲdʑ-*. Examples of this quoted by Karlgren in his *Phonologie* are: (85), 'mother', P. */mu* < ACh. *ˌməu*, pronounced *mbu* in Wenshui; (65), 'I', P. */wɔ* < ACh. *ˌŋa*, pronounced *ŋgœ* in Kweihing. In the more southern and western parts of this area the final occlusives are lost without trace, but the glottal stop marks their former presence in Chin. Another widespread phenomenon is the loss of final nasal consonants with resultant nasalisation of the preceding vowel.

Over-aspiration, in this region as in the north-east (Hopeh and outside the Great Wall) gives rise to new and un-Chinese looking combinations of consonants in the Kansuh dialects: Lanchow has (427), 'leather', P. *'p'i* < ACh. *ˍbjie*, in the form of *pçi*. Sian (Shensi) has (428), P. *-tşu*, 'pig', < ACh. *ˉʈiwo*, as *pfu*, and (330), P. *-tʂ'u*, 'go out', < ACh. *ˉtʃ'iuet*, as *pf'u*. (The last two transcriptions given are Karlgren's; I have heard the same words from Sian speakers as *vu* and *fu* respectively, with no trace of the occlusive. The difference may depend on the precise locality of the speech recorded.) The Sian sound occurs as the representative of ACh. *ts-* (with its palatal and

retroflex counterparts, aspirated and voiced grades included) when followed by ACh. *u*; and also for ACh. *ʃ-* (ACh. *'ʃwi*, 'water', P. /ʂuɛi, Sian `*fei*) and for ACh. *ʒ-* ((429), 'tree', ACh. _ʒiu, P. \ʂu, Sian √*fu*), in cases where the Min dialects, for example, show an affricate instead of the simple sibilant. Bröring notes the occurrence of the same phenomenon is a dialect of south Shantung, and infers a kinship between its speakers and the inhabitants of the more westerly region where also it is found.

We know enough nowadays not to label any sound change as impossible, but a change *tʃ- > (p)f-* is certainly very unusual: the contrary direction of change is more common; it is known in Old French (Vulgar Latin **rabja > OFr. raдʒe), and the changes *bj- > dʒ-*, *p'j- > tʃ'-* are regular in modern Tibetan dialects. An initial *p-* is palatalised in many varieties of Northern Chinese where it comes before *-j-*; and the starting point of this sound change in Sian was probably a confusion of *p'-*[1] with *ɟ-*, these sounds being much closer together than *p-* and *tʃ-*. This *p'-* when followed by *u* then joined with the *pjw-* initial, which regularly results in *f-* in Northern Chinese, possibly with **p'w-* as an intermediate stage. Sian √*fuŋ* for (430), 'poor', P. *'tɕ'iuŋ < ACh. _g'iuŋ*, is enigmatic. It is curious to observe the same alternation of *pj-* with the dental affricates among the Miao dialects:

HwaM.		HehM.		Mp'o	
`*pja*	'five'	`*tsa*		_tsa	
`*npja*	'fish'	`*nei*		'ndzei	
_npja	'ear'	—ni		'ndzei	
`*pja*	'to sow'	ˌtsa		_tsei	

So far we have not the right to say that a *-w-* was present in Miao also; in the case of (431), P. *'ʂə*, 'snake': ACh. _dʒ'ia, Sian √*fɛ*, the form in Kienyang (Min) *yɛ*, and Amoy *tsoa*, imply a *-u-* vowel at some stage in the development.

The tones in Sian tend towards those of Min and Hakka, but this probably does not indicate any special relationship between these dialects; both are the languages of outlying areas preserving archaic traits, while the more modern development is shown in the four-tone system of the typical Northern Chinese dialects which occupy the centre.

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[1] *p'-* is here used to represent a palatalised *p*, as a typographical simplification.

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If geography rather than genetic affiliation were the main point for consideration, it would have been more appropriate to deal with the dialect of Fuchow city in the next chapter; if it is here taken out of its local setting, then it will serve to emphasise its alienage among the true dialects of Fukien. It stands apart from them in showing no trace of the typical T'ang Min denasalisation; on the contrary, *mjw*- becomes *w*- in the same circumstances in which the change is carried through in the north, and in this, as well as in its loss of final occlusives in favour of the glottal stop and of final nasals other than -*ŋ*, it approaches certain dialects of the easterly Northern Chinese area. The two last features are, however, common to Fuchow and to the northern Min varieties, and may well be of local origin, incorporated by the Fuchow language after its introduction to its present habitat. It is more archaic than either Northern Chinese or Cantonese, the two dialects which derive most easily from the standard Ancient Chinese, in preserving the occlusive element in old affricates, and even in showing it in a number of cases where Ancient Chinese of the *Ts'ie-yün* had already reduced it. The fact, however, that literary Fuchow follows Northern Chinese against Cantonese and Hakka in its treatment of *mjw*- while popular pronunciations in Fuchow keep *m*- leaves no doubt but that it is a comparatively late importation from the north.

The Fuchow dialect shows already completed the development *pjw*-, etc. > *hu*- (which may, as in the case of T'ang Min, represent a fully formed *f*- sound readapted to Min speech habits). As this sound change is absent from the popular speech of Fuchow it must have existed in the literary pronunciation as borrowed. There is no general aspiration in the even tone of the old voiced initials, but some sporadic instances occur. If, following Karlgren, we attribute all these changes to the T'ang period, we may assign the last years of that period (circ. A.D. 900) as the time when the dialect was imposed on Fuchow. The initial *ŋ*- remains in all positions; *ńʑ*- normally disappears completely, but in a few cases ((432), P. \ʌu, 'meat': F. ⁻nyꞇ; (25), P. /ɜʌ, 'ear': F. ⁻ŋi; (433), P. /ʌu, 'you': F. -ńy, etc.), *n*- or *ŋ*- appears, and here we may suppose that the popular idiom was sufficiently strong to resist the change.

Contrary to what occurs in most dialects, there are a number of cases in Fuchow literary forms in which the quality of the vowel has been affected by the tone of the word. The same phenomenon is found in modern Pekingese, but there it is the even tone which in certain cases causes the vowel to vary, whereas in Fuchow it is the falling tone. Thus, ACh. *i*- gives F. -*i* in even and rising tones in (434), P. /*tṣɪ*, 'finger': F. -*tʃi*; (78), P. -*tṣɪ*, 'that', F. ⁻*tʃi*; (435), P. /*li*, '(Chinese) mile': F. -*li*; but the result is -*e* in (436), P. *li*, 'profit': F. ˌ*le;* (437), P. *tṣɪ*, 'intention': F. '*tʃe*; (438), P. *i*, 'different'; F. ˌ*e*. Similarly -*u* in even tones alternates with -*o* in falling. The tones having a cadence, as the upper and lower falling tones of Ancient Chinese as now pronounced in Fuchow, seem to entail the lower vowel sounds; these two tones of Fuchow reach lower in pitch than do the others.

The lower entering tone, as in Hakka, has adopted a position higher than the old upper entering (ju-sheng); and it is the latter of the two (which is pronounced with rising intonation) which shows this feature of diphthongisation and lowering of the vowel timbre.

For the rest, the Fuchow literary dialect agrees with T'ang Min in having no pronunciations for the purely local words, but only for such as have counterparts in general literary Chinese. It has to a greater extent than the latter displaced the authentic local forms and has therefore fused with the Min language of Fuchow more completely, and it is less easy to speak of two Fuchow languages than of two dialects in other Min districts. The popular forms of Fuchow are phonologically entirely Min, and probably represent the last remains of the dialect on which the literary form was imposed. Among them are to be found a few words with no correspondents in Ancient Chinese or in the modern dialects derived from it, but having their counterparts in the other Min languages.

The remaining forms of northern Min, such as Kienyang and Kienning, exhibit the influence of the same literary dialect as constitutes the ordinary speech of Fuchow, but in them the literary layer is thinner, and evidence of Min basis more abundant. Each of them has peculiar phonetic traits of its own, imposed alike on the Northern Chinese literary forms and on the underlying Min speech.

Many areas along the northern edge of the Northern Chinese region, and a large part of southern Anhwei and Kiangsu show extreme antipathy to the nasal finals which are largely replaced by a nasal

pronunciation of the preceding vowel. The eastern area in which this phenomenon occurs may represent a captured dialect, as it adjoins the Wu dialect areas where the loss of a final nasal consonant is frequent or regular. In that case, we must suppose the dialect speakers in these parts to have so far modified their speech into conformity with Northern Chinese standard as to make themselves readily comprehensible: the ordinary person in acquiring a new dialect seldom finds it necessary to go beyond that point. The tonal system (Southern Anhwei has generally six distinct tones, if we disregard the ju-sheng, still marked here by the glottal stop) is more archaic than that of the purely Northern Chinese dialects, and nearer to the Wu system; it further shares with Wu the representation of ACh. -*a* (when not following -*j*-) by -*o*. It might, in fact, be described as a transition dialect between Pekingese and Wu, exhibiting characteristics in common with both its neighbours, the centre of radiation of new influences in its case being Peking.

The location of the three chief archaic traits found within the Northern Chinese area, viz., the fuller tonal system, nasalised vowels, and the glottal stop as representing the old occlusive finals, is naturally interpreted, on the principles of linguistic geography, as meaning that an older form of Chinese has been banished to outlying districts while a newer standard pronunciation has radiated throughout the more central parts of the country. On this basis we might have expected the area about the Grand Canal to have been more thoroughly standardised in speech than it in fact is, the canal having been for many centuries one of the main arteries of communication between north and south. It seems that we must invoke, at least as a subsidiary explanation, the mode of expansion of Chinese speakers in very ancient times; as agriculturalists, they preferred the river valleys, and spread down the Yellow River to its marshy delta, and up its southern tributaries and so into the Yangtsze valley. In such an expansion they must have driven a wedge through the midst of the barbarian populations, those who would not accept Chinese rule being driven outwards to inhabit more densely the border regions. When, therefore, at a later time even these regions were sinicised in language, a more compact pre-Chinese population in hills and marshes left its mark on the Chinese there spoken, while it would be powerless to affect the lands more completely occupied by the Chinese.

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THE MODERN DIALECTS (*Continued*)

CANTONESE

If it is not the most archaic of the existing dialects, which title might well be contested by the Wu language or by the popular forms of southern Min, Cantonese may fairly be said to be the form which best preserves the essential traits of Ancient Chinese. It shares with Northern Chinese several of the changes which distinguish it from the other coastal dialects—notably the development of *pjw-*, etc., into *f-*, and the differential treatment of the voiced aspirate initials; in the former respect Cantonese agrees further with Hakka, but not in the latter.

The development of the old voiced occlusives according to their tone was carried out independently in Cantonese and in Northern Chinese. In the latter, as we have seen, the initial becomes aspirated if the word carried the even tone, but not otherwise; Cantonese aspirates in the lower rising tone also. Pekingese escaped this change, in most cases, by altering the tone of such words when they had these troublesome initials, and we find that, whereas the old lower rising tone still covers the same words in Cantonese, in Pekingese these words have split into two groups. Those with the occlusive initial have joined the words in the falling tone, while the others—those with vocalic or non-occlusive consonantal initials—retain the rising tone. Thus (402), P. *|lao*, 'old', from ACh. *,lau*; but (439), P. *\tɕiu*, 'uncle', unaspirated, < ACh. *,gⁱᵘu*, just as if this had been **,gⁱᵘu*; in Cantonese they have the same tone, and the latter word is aspirated, *,lou* and *,k'au*. That this development was a comparatively late one in Cantonese is shown by the fact that, whereas an original ACh. *k'-* has, apart from literary influence, resulted regularly in C. *h-*, the *k'-* arising from the devoicing of *g-* in the lower level and rising tones uniformly remains as such, *k'-*.

Cantonese does not share in the further Northern Chinese development *mjw- > w-*, and, superficially at least, is most of all distinguished from the speech of the north by its faithful perpetuation of the Ancient Chinese final occlusives, in which regard it is, on the

whole, more archaic than any other dialect. In one respect only are Hakka and southern Min more conservative in their treatment of these finals: Cantonese agrees with Pekingese in its aversion to consecutive labials; Northern Chinese having lost all its final stops and converted -*m* everywhere into -*n*, obscures this phenomenon to a great extent, and probably the only trace now visible is to be found in the development of *ə* from *u* after labial initials in Pekingese. In Cantonese this aversion is shown to its fullest extent; it changes -*p* into -*t* in words like P. |*fa*, (440), 'law', ACh. ⁻*piwvp* > C. -*fa:t* (cf. Sw. *hwap*); P. *fa:n*, (327), 'offend', ACh. ‚*biwvm* > C. ‗*fa:n* (cf. Sw. *hwam*).

Cantonese always aligns itself with the other south-eastern dialects in its treatment of ACh. *ɲʒ-*. In P. *'ɪən*, 'man', (73), ACh. ‗*ɲʒⁱen*, the modern Pekingese initial represents the fricative only, *ɲ-* being lost; in Wu, Min, Hakka, and Cantonese, however, the old consonant developed *ɲʒ-* > *ɲ-*, which thereafter became *l-* or *j-* according to dialect; certain rural sub-dialects of Cantonese still have *ɲ-*. As in the other coastal idioms, the old triphthongs have all been reduced to diphthongs, and the remaining diphthongs are all descending, i.e., with the greater stress and length on the first element; contrast P. *'t'iáo*, 'to mix', (441), with C. ‚*t'ĭu*, < ACh. ‗*dieu* (where the acute accent marks the stress). The final stops are pronounced applosively only, as in the other dialects which retain them, but in careful speech are not reduced to a mere glottal stop; the hearer is never in doubt whether the final is -*k*, -*t*, or -*p*.

As compared with Northern Chinese, Cantonese shows a larger proportion of 'archaic' forms, i.e., of forms for the phonetic explanation of which we must go back beyond the stage of Ancient Chinese. This refers particularly to words having ACh. initials *s-*, *z-*, *ʃ-*, *ʒ-*, which in Northern Chinese sometimes, in Cantonese very frequently, show an affricate; e.g., (442), P. -*suŋ*, 'fir', C. ‚*ts'uŋ*, < ACh. ‗*z'woŋ*. Contrary cases are not unknown, as P. *'tʂ'əŋ*, 'city', (443), ACh. ‗*ʒⁱɛŋ*, C. ‚*ʂɛŋ*; but on the whole the balance is in favour of Cantonese. Borrowing from another dialect might account for the abnormal modern forms; but such an explanation is not plausible, as these words have nothing in common which would make it likely that just they should be exempted from correction to the new norm of Ancient Chinese; that is to say, they are not predominantly cultural and

legal, or rural, or words denoting products of one region not native to others. On the other hand, the greater frequency of such forms in Hakka and their still greater frequency in Min (where the affricate forms seem to be almost regular) suggests that we have here a specifically south-eastern trait, partially corrected by later Northern influence.

Cantonese differs from the remainder of the coastal dialects not only in its essential closeness to Northern Chinese, but even more remarkably in its relative freedom from direct Northern influence; the proportion of literary pronunciations is very low indeed. A few reading pronunciations tend towards Northern Chinese; e.g., (444), P. *tso*, 'sit', < ACh. *,dz'wa*: C. colloquial *,ts'ɔ*, but read as *_tsɔ* (with the Northern change to the falling tone); and a few words hardly conversational except among the highly educated have Northern forms only.

Similarly, there is a manifest irregularity in the representation of ACh. *k'*- in Cantonese. Its authentic development when followed immediately by the principal vowel seems to have been *h*-; but it disappears before *j*-, and coalesces with *-w-* to give *f*-. There are, however, a large number of words in which the old sound has persisted ((445), P. *-tɕ'yɛ*, 'defect', C. *-k'y:t*; (446), P. *-tɕ'i*, 'stream', C. *'k'ai*); and a number (e.g. (447), P. *-tɕ'y*, 'crooked', C. *−huk*, *−k'uk*) with alternative forms. Karlgren has dealt with this problem at some length, seeking a solution in purely phonological terms. It is probable, however, that the *k'*- forms do not represent phonetic development, but rather substitutions of *k'*- for the older and more authentic *h*- or *f*- (if these have been already current), or purely dictionary constructions (i.e., pronunciations built up from the fants'ie spellings based on the Northern Chinese sounds) in the case of purely literary words. It is to be noted in this case, as distinguished from that of the 'archaic forms' mentioned above, that there is a pronounced tendency for words less frequent in conversation to have the Northern *k'*- forms, while those more colloquial and used by every speaker of the dialect have *h*- or *f*-. Cantonese, in fact, resembled the T'ai dialects which preceded it in Kwangtung in its preference for fricatives over aspirates; both developed aspirate stops into fricatives.

The independence of development of Cantonese might perhaps be

set down to its distance from the cultural centre and the difficulty of communications, especially after the Hakka irruption. These factors have probably contributed to the result, but the very schematic conformity of Cantonese with Ancient Chinese must have made any attempt to impose a pronunciation directly modelled on the Northern something of an impertinence, especially after Northern phonetics had decayed to the point when the old metrical structure and rimes were better appreciated through the medium of Cantonese.

Apart from the instance of T'ai phonetic influence suggested above, any influence which the earlier language of its speakers may have had on the sound development of Cantonese (and on its neighbouring dialects) seems to have been in a conservative sense. The T'ai languages show no disposition towards a reduction of final consonants and little towards palatalisation, and such habits of pronunciation may well have inhibited the weakening of consonants when Chinese speech spread among a T'ai population rather than a Miao.

In dealing with Pekingese in the last chapter we remarked that the tones in Cantonese better preserved the old system, and insisted on exact enunciation, in contrast with the latitude in the north. It is necessary to qualify this here by reference to the variant tones, which arise most frequently when two words of the same tone come together in a compound phrase. Many dialects offer similar phenomena of 'tone-sandhi', e.g. Fuchow, and Ningpo. The system of variants is complicated, but does not lead to indifference in the tone of the displaced word, and there is nothing like the 'tonelessness' of unstressed words in Pekingese. Cantonese has not only kept intact the six primary tones of Ancient Chinese, but has added one more in the case of ju-sheng words. Liu is in error in thinking that the discovery of this tone is recent; it was described by Dyer Ball in 1883. The causes at work to bring some but not all of the upper ju-sheng words into this middle tone are not yet fully worked out; but it is certain that the quality of the vowel has some effect. Words having as their principal vowel in Ancient Chinese a, a, $ɔ$—the low vowels— almost all take the middle tone in Cantonese; while those with u, $ə$, e, or o remain in the upper tone. The vowel $ɛ$ moves the word to the middle tone except when followed by k. Exceptions are somewhat more numerous among words with the high vowels; but it is worthy of note that where despite the final $-k$ words with $ɛ$ nevertheless take

the middle tone, the vowel is lowered and opened as in (448), 'foot-rule' P. /tʂ'ɪ, C. -tʂ'ɛk; contrast (371), 'pity', P. 'ɕi, C. ⁻sɪk.

In each of the areas, Cantonese and Northern, there are many words of the literary language never used in the colloquial, or used there only in transferred sense in idiomatic phrases; and each of these dialects uses words of good literary standing unknown to the un-lettered speakers of the other. In this respect Northern Chinese, especially Pekingese and the dialects of Shantung, adhere more closely to classical usage than does Cantonese, a fact which we may probably attribute to the greater influence of the north in the formation of the literary style. If this explanation be correct, then it is a corollary that Northern Chinese and Cantonese were already distinct in vocabulary during the T'ang era, the latest time when we can believe the written language to represent fairly well that spoken in north China. Among words thus in common use in the north but unknown in Cantonese colloquial we may mention (449), P. \ɕia, 'to go down'; (450), P. /tɕi, 'give'; (451), P. \ʂɪ, 'be'; (452), P. -t'iɛn, 'sky' (in the sense of 'day'); (68), P. -t'a, 'he, she'; (453), P. -k'an (in the sense of 'look at'); (454), 'child', P. 'xai. Cantonese has also a few such words still used colloquially in their original meanings; (138), P. \miɛn, C. _mi:n, 'face' (in most dialects specialised to 'surface'); (455), P. \lo, 'go down', C. _lɔk; (456), 'eat', P. 'ʂɪ, C. _ʂik (more often replaced in Northern and in Wu by (457), P. -tʂ'ɪ, which is almost equally common in Cantonese, C. -ja:k). But the balance is largely in favour of Northern Chinese. Both have peculiar words not shared with any other dialect, and in each case these *may* be of foreign importation, but may equally well be genuine Chinese words else-where lost.

Since its severance from Northern Chinese, Cantonese has de-veloped new phonetic traits of its own. The initial k'- passed first of all to x-, disappearing before -j- (C. 'jau, for (458), 'hillock', P. -tɕ'iu < ACh. -k'ⁱ•u) and, after coalescing with the original ACh. x-, uniting with a following -w- to produce f-; so we have (413), 'bitter', ACh. 'k'uo > NCh. /k'u but C. 'fu, just like (459), 'tiger', ACh. 'xuo > NCh. /xu, but C. 'fu. As in many of the south-eastern dialects, Cantonese u is absorbed when it follows ŋ: (328), P. /wu, 'five', ACh. ŋuo > C. /ŋ. Initial ŋ- survives before back vowels other than u, but is otherwise lost: (65), P. 'wo, 'I', ACh. ,ŋa > C.

,ŋɔ, but (377), P. '*jy*, 'fish', ACh. _*ŋ'wo* > C. ,*jy*. ACh. *ɲʒ*- is always
represented by *j*-, through the stage of *ɲ*- (still occasionally heard
from rural speakers): the fricative element may not yet have
developed in this combination when Cantonese parted from Northern
Chinese, and Cantonese may represent directly ArCh. *ɲ*-. In Can-
tonese the diphthong -*ja*- followed by a velar final contracted to *œ*,
probably through the stage -*jo*- which still exists in Min and Hakka:
(460), P. -*tɕ'iaŋ*, 'spear', ACh. ⁻*ts''aŋ* > (Hakka ⁻*ts'ioŋ*, Kienning
-*tʃ'ioŋ*) C. '*tʂ'œŋ*.

Usually reckoned a sub-dialect of Cantonese, though, in the opin-
ion of the present writer, showing enough distinctive features to
warrant its separation, is the dialect of Sze-Yap, the 'Four Towns',
spoken on the west of the Canton River delta. It agrees with Can-
tonese in the points which most fundamentally mark off that dialect
from Northern Chinese, including the treatment of occlusive initials
in the lower rising tone. The tones otherwise approach those of the
Northern languages; the upper even has not, as in Cantonese,
assumed a falling cadence; the upper rising has become a very high
level tone (not, as in Hakka, high falling); the upper falling is a level
tone somewhat lower in pitch than the upper level. The lower series
conforms more closely with Cantonese. It has not shared with Can-
tonese the development of the middle tone for ju-sheng words; such
words remain in the upper series to which they originally belonged.
While final consonants are fairly close to Cantonese and the vocalism
approaches that of Hakka, the initials, and especially the dentals,
have been strangely transformed. Like most varieties of Cantonese,
Sze-Yap has lost all distinction of *s*- and *ʃ*-, *ts*- and *tʃ*-, etc.; but,
unlike Cantonese, it has converted them, the former into *ɬ*- (like
Welsh *ll*), the latter into *t*-, etc. Meanwhile, *t*-, *t'*- < ACh. *t*-, *t'*-,
d- have completely disappeared, the aspirated forms being left
simply as *h*-, the unaspirated as zero: (461), P. -*t'iɛn* *ti*, 'heaven and
earth', is now Sze-Yap ⁻*hiɛn* _*e*. This change must have occurred
before the last mentioned, otherwise the new *t*-, *t'*- < ACh. *ts*-, *tʃ*-,
etc., would have shared its fate; for parallel reasons it must have been
later than the change of voiced occlusives according to tones. The
existence of the *ɬ* sound in this dialect, apparently doubted by
Karlgren (*Phonologie*, ch. VI) is vouched for by my own observation.

Like the Cantonese variety of Tung Kun (south-east of Canton),

Sze-Yap makes ACh. -*uən* into -*un*, where Cantonese has -*an*; and, like Northern Chinese, has ACh. -*jəu* as -*iu*; (210), P. -*fən*, 'divide', ACh. ⁻*p'uən* > C. ʼ*fan*, Sze-Yap ⁻*fun*; (410), P. /*tɕiu*, 'nine', ACh. ʼ*k'ᵉu* > C. ʼ*kau*, Sze-Yap ⁻*kiu*. Several of these sound changes, have parallels in Tʻai dialects once spoken in Kwangtung.

For some reason or other, much mystery has been made about the Hakkas; of this we have given examples in the Preface. This determination to treat them apart from the rest of the Chinese people may have started from their name, which as written signifies 'stranger families'. As we shall see when we come later to deal with the Minchia, little reliance is to be placed on the interpretation of Chinese proper names, as the language has so often preferred not to invent new characters when a homophone was ready to hand. Thus no one will explain the Mongols as a 'stupid and ancient people' because their name is written with the characters having those meanings; and Lacouperie may have been right in rejecting any connection between the number 'hundred' and the most distinctive ethnic name (165), P. /*pai* *ɕiŋ*, used by the Chinese for themselves. Near Kowloon City in Hong Kong there was formerly a village of Fukienese known to the Cantonese as (462), _*hɔk* ʼ*lou* ʼ*tṣʼyːn*; it hardly demands proof that this was not a 'village of scholars' as a straightforward reading of the characters would signify, but a village of Hoklos or Fukienese, -*hɔk* having been substituted for (463), C. ⁻*fuk*, because it renders more exactly the Amoy pronunciation of the first syllable of Fukien.

With these examples in mind, one not unreasonably doubts whether the name of Hakka meant when first applied that the people were in any more egregious sense foreigners to other Chinese than any other speakers of incomprehensible dialects, or whether its modern interpretation is anything more than a piece of folk etymology; and it is not very clear why the Hakkas should be without a name by which to describe themselves other than one which meant foreigners. There is nothing so strikingly different in physical appearance of the Hakkas, nor in their customs, which would set them apart from the other Chinese-speaking inhabitants of the south, with whom they seem to share just as much, or just as little, Chinese

blood; and their language is much more in the direct line of derivation from old Chinese than those to which we shall presently come.

The speakers of Hakka have been estimated variously at from four to fifteen millions, but the higher figure is more likely to be correct. They occupy at present, roughly speaking, a band of country stretching east and west from Fukien to Kwangsi, and compressed between two lines, one running along the mountain range bounding Kwangtung on the north, the other parallel to it a few miles north of Canton. This is their most compact area of settlement, but boundaries are everywhere irregular and fluctuating, and Cantonese tends to hold the main commercial centres even in that block, while conversely Hakkas are found as farmers and fishermen as far as the extreme south of Kwangtung. Their settlement in Kayingchow in the east of the province is dated, by the family records of the district, to later Sung and Mongol times; and they appear to have entered the province from the north-east, their progress being marked, probably, by the string of dialects having certain of the Hakka traits noted by Edkins in south-eastern Kiangsi and Anhwei. With the trend to urbanisation, Hakka has lost ground to Cantonese; bilinguals are nearly always Hakkas. The isoglosses separating Hakka dialect forms from those of other southern dialects are everywhere clear-cut; there are no transition dialects. Their traditions indicate an origin in the far north-east, but others have traced them to emigration from Honan between the fourth and the ninth centuries.

Their language stands between Northern Chinese and Cantonese, and, in the matter of innovations, closer to the former; but in one respect it agrees with the Wu and Min dialects against the two first named: ACh. g-, d-, b-, $\dj$- have been treated alike in Hakka whatever the tone, and each appears always as its corresponding unvoiced aspirate. So we have (464), ACh. $_\backslash gji$, 'jealous', $>$ P. $\backslash tgi$, C. $\_ke\, \text{:}i$, but H. $\backslash k'i$; (465), ACh. $_\backslash b'wvn$, 'illness' $>$ P. $\backslash pin$, C. $\_pen$, but H. $\backslash p'ian$; (466), ACh. $_\backslash dai$, 'succession', $>$ P. $\backslash tai$, C. $\_toi$, but H. $\backslash t'oi$. It has no part in the specifically Cantonese developments, but aligns itself rather with Northern Chinese wherever that differs from Cantonese. We have noted certain points (preservation of the final labials in certain circumstances where they are lost in Cantonese) in which Hakka is more conservative; in other respects, however, Cantonese is a more reliable guide to the Ancient Chinese finals, $-k$ passing regu-

larly into *-t* after front vowels in Hakka: (467), P. *-tʂɪ*, 'weave', ACh.
⁻tfⁱək > H. *-tfit*, C. *⁻tʂik*; but (396), P. *lu*, 'six', ACh. *‗liuk* > H.
⁻luk, C. *‗luk*. Unlike Cantonese, it retains many of the ascending
diphthongs which Cantonese has reduced to simple long vowels:
(468), P. *'liɛn*, 'sickle' ACh. *‗lⁱɛm* > H. *‗liam*, C. *‗li:m*. This pheno-
menon occurs most regularly before a labial final. Hakka shares in
the lambdacism of the Yangtsze region, *n-* regularly appearing as *l-*
except before *-j-*, when *ɲ-* is more usual: (469), P. *'nu*, 'servant',
ACh. *‗nuo* > H. *‗lu*, but (470), P. *'niɛn*, 'year', ACh. *‗nien* > H.
‗ɲɛn. In some parts of the Hakka territory this *ɲ-* passes into *ŋ-*. The
reduction of ACh. *ɲʒ-*, or rather retention of the older **ɲ-*, follows
Cantonese more closely than any other dialect, the ordinary result
being *ŋ-*, elsewhere *ŋj-*.

Speaking generally, if we exclude the dialect of Tingchow and
eastern Kiangsi from the name of Hakka, Hakka is much more uni-
form over its wide area than is Cantonese; Hakka not being a lan-
guage of commerce offers less inducement to speakers of other dialects
to acquire it.

In vocabulary, Hakka consorts with Cantonese rather than with
the Northern dialects, and, despite its contiguity with Min, even its
more easterly forms show no trace of the very characteristic Min
vocabulary. Like Cantonese, it prefers (471), P. *ɕi*, to (451), P. *ʂɪ*
as the copula; (472), P. *'ɕiŋ*, to (473), P. */tsou*, in its primary sense
of 'go, walk'; (456), P. *'ʂɪ*, to (457), P. *-tʂʻɪ*, for 'eat'; (455), P. *lo*, to
(449), P. *ɕia*, in the verbal sense, 'to go down'. It agrees with Min
against Cantonese in one or two points only, as in preferring (170), P.
mu, to (474), P. */jɛn*, for 'eye'; (475), P. *-wu*, to (255), P. *xə* for 'black'.

The tones of Hakka are less authentic than those of Cantonese.
Whereas Cantonese while altering the values at least kept one dis-
tinct tone corresponding to each of the ancient tones, Hakka has
merged the lower rising tone into the upper even, which has kept its
old value. If we may judge from a similar happening in the upper
rising tone, this confusion may have happened when the rising tones
lost their cadence and remained as even tones at the highest pitch
originally reached, which in the case of the lower rising was that of
the upper level tone. It resembles most Min dialects in that the upper
and lower ju-sheng have changed places, the lower being in fact on a
higher pitch than the upper.

The Tingchow dialect belongs to the mountainous regions of western Fukien. So profoundly has it been modified that it is not readily recognised as akin to Hakka. Closer examination, however, makes it clear that it has all the specific traits of Hakka, except that final occlusives have completely disappeared. The Ancient Chinese voiced occlusives are aspirated surds in all tones: ACh. *ŋʒ-* > T. *n-*; the upper even and lower rising tones have coincided; and the diphthongs have had closely similar developments: (476), P. *tuan*, 'cut off', ACh. *‚duan,* > T. *‚t'ɔn*, C. *‚t'yːn*; (477), P. *ʂaŋ*, 'up', ACh. *ʒiaŋ* > T.*ʃɔŋ*, C. *‗ʂœŋ*. In vocabulary it adheres closely to the Cantonese-Hakka word stock, but, like every other dialect, it has some words and phrases for the commonest ideas peculiar to itself, or shared with only a few other dialects. The personal pronouns are a good example of its Hakka affinities: for the second and third persons it has *-ni* and *-ke*; here Min and Wu generally prefer forms apparently akin to (433), P. /*jy*, and (70), P. *-i*, respectively. The copula is (471), P. *ʂi*, as in Kwangtung; the demonstratives are related to those of the Kwangtung dialects, not to Min.

Three features, however, render Tingchow conspicuously different from the Hakka dialects: The entire loss of final occlusives, the passage of *-n* in many cases to *-ŋ*, and the presence of a notable number of palatal affricates in place of ACh. *k-*, etc. All three features are, however, of a secondary type; and the palatalisation of velars relates Tingchow to Wu rather than to Northern Chinese, in respect of its incidence. There is, in fact, some reason to suppose that Hakka, with Tingchow and the dialects of Kiangsi and Anhwei so far as the latter are not Northern Chinese varieties, are basically akin to Wu, the features which distinguish these dialects among themselves being archaisms on one or the other side, while they agree in their freedom from some of the innovations found in Northern Chinese and Cantonese.

Mention must be made of sporadic forms in Tingchow not paralleled in Hakka, which may be survivals of a speech with other sound laws than we find in the present dialect; such are the *t-* in place of *l-* or *n-* in (396), P. *lu*, 'six', ACh. *‗ljuk* > T. *-tʂu*; (435), P. /*li*, 'mile', ACh. *‚lji* > T. *'ti*; (415), P. /*liaŋ*, 'two', ACh. *‚liaŋ* > T. *'tioŋ*. In some cases forms more close to those of the other dialects exist beside these relics.

We first hear of a kingdom of Wu ((478), P. *'wu* < ACh. _ŋuo) in the seventh century B.C., when it had its capital somewhere near the modern Suchow. Its people differed from the Chinese in many ways, certainly in language, and we gather that they were addicted to tattooing and were more advanced in the art of navigation than were the Chinese. The proper names preserved look alien, but are too few and too badly preserved to make more precise conclusions possible. The people were ruled by princes claiming affinity with the house of Chou, but were regarded as barbarians, although they, or at least their rulers, before the extinction of the state, seem to have adopted some Chinese manners and, perhaps, language. For a short time Wu exercised a sort of hegemony in China, but the kingdom was suddenly extinguished in 473 B.C. by its southern neighbour Yüeh ((470), ACh. _jwɐt), which spoke the same tongue as Wu. That such a small district as Wu should have held even for a short time the chief power in China implies that it was thickly populated and of some material culture.

The Wu dialects were long ago seen to preserve an ancient feature of Chinese in their voiced initial occlusives. For certain reasons Karlgren concluded that these consonants were in the old language aspirated, *g'*-, *d'*-, *b'*-, *dz'*-, etc.; but the abandonment of his un-aspirated grade of voiced occlusives has at the same time removed much of the ground for this conclusion. Observers have, however, noted a faint aspiration in their pronunciation in the modern dialects. Wu resembles Hakka and Min in treating these consonants alike, irrespective of tone. If we state the fact of the retention of voiced stops in Wu thus, as is usually done, and without further qualification, it appears that we have a trait which opposes Wu sharply to the other dialects of China; but closer examination shows that such a notion is fallacious. In the Wu dialects—Wênchow, Ningpo, Suchow, Taichow, and Shanghai—the voicing of these sounds is conditional, and appears only in the interior of a word group; when uttered singly, or at the head of such a group, these sounds appear as aspirated and unvoiced. The frontier between Wu speech and the dialects of south Anhwei and south-eastern Kiangsi becomes, there-fore, less distinct; and we seek in vain for a clear-cut distinction

between these forms of Chinese and the outlying Hsiang dialects of Hunan, or between this whole group and Hakka.

The Wu language has in modern times a greater than average hostility to final consonants. The glottal stop remains in most varieties to remind us of the lost -*k*, -*p*, -*t*; but even this is lost in Wênchow, and occasionally in connected speech in Ningpo. A final -*n* is fairly clear in certain cases in Suchow, but generally the dialects other than Wênchow lose both -*m* and -*n*, nasalising the preceding vowel; -*ŋ* is more resistent, but in Wênchow this too is lost, except where it represents ACh. -*ŋ* after *u* and *a* vowels. Wu agrees with Northern Chinese (and in fact with all forms except Min) in the evolution *pjw*-, etc., > *f*-; *bjw*-, however, consistently with the treatment of voiced occlusives in these dialects, becomes *v*- in circumstances in which a voiced form may show itself; whence we may infer that the development of the fricative preceded the loss of voice in other dialects. In much of the Wu area ACh. -*a* > -*ɔ*, a feature which extends into the Anhwei region and parts of Kiangsi. An attenuated aspirate, voiced *h*, represents *γ*- in most of the area, and this is one of the features which suggest connection with the Min language.

Velars are palatalised before ACh. -*j*- (as in Tingchow); where palatalisation occurs in Wu before *a* (generally not beyond the stage of *c*-), we regularly find the occlusive beside the fricative, and we may suspect Northern Chinese influence in the latter. ACh. *ŋ*- regularly remains: (480), P. *jyɛ*, 'moon', ACh. _*ŋ*ⁱ*wvt* > Su. _*ŋəˤ*; ACh. *ṇʒ*- > *ṇ*-, as (278), P. *ʋə*, 'hot', ACh. _*ṇʒ*ⁱ*ɛt* > Su. _*ṇəˤ*. (Here as in other dialects it is probable that a pre-Ancient Chinese form is preserved, rather than that there has been regression to the Archaic form.)

The tones of Wênchow are generally regarded as very degenerate. In Suchow, though they are not insisted upon with the same rigour as in Cantonese, they have maintained themselves better than in Northern Chinese generally, and have developments in common with those in Min. The upper even and upper ju-sheng tones, and the lower ju-sheng, and the upper falling, have retained their Ancient Chinese values; but both rising tones have become upper falling (as in some varieties of Hakka), and the lower even, as in Min, has assumed an inverted circumflex character, falling sharply and then

rising more slowly, somewhat like the third tone (/a) in Pekingese. In Ningpo we have a tonal system nearly parallel with Cantonese in its complete correspondence with the ancient system, a resemblance heightened by the fact that the upper even tone here also shows a disposition to take on a falling cadence. Tone-sandhi, the modification of a tone according to its position of the word in relation to other tones, plays an important part in this dialect.

The Wu dialects proper, excluding their western outliers, constitute a fairly closely related group, and the speakers of one experience little difficulty in conversing with those of another. They have all been much affected by Northern Chinese influence, but unequally so; that of Shanghai is fast sinking to the position of a patois. The consequence is that we find in Wu dialects duplicate forms of one Chinese word; in Ningpo, e.g., we have (481), P. *ta*, 'big', normally pronounced √*dvv* (√*t'vv* when pronounced singly or first in a phrase), but in the Northern Chinese borrowed form /*tv* in (482), P. *ta -i*, 'overcoat'. Many ACh. *mjw*- words have such doublets: (329), P. *wən*, 'ask', < ACh. ,*m'uən*, appearing with *m*- or *v*- in Wênchow and Ningpo. The duplication is, however, not so universal as in the dialects of Min.

MIN

We have remarked traces of Northern Chinese influence on all the dialects so far examined, from a minimum in Cantonese to a maximum in the Wu dialects or in the 'captured' dialects of the northwest; but nowhere do we find that influence operating in such a strange manner as among the Min dialects. Here we have, in effect, two languages existing side by side; the position is not unlike that of French and Latin in earlier medieval France.

A literary language widely different from any vernacular is, of course, common to all China; but the existence of a distinct pronunciation in each of the two forms, literary and popular, so far as the word is not peculiar to the one or the other, is unknown except in Min. Every dialect has words used by the literate and wholly unknown to the uneducated; if such words penetrate into common speech they bring with them a pronunciation which they bore in the schools, and which may ultimately be based on that given, by means of the fan-ts'ie spellings (see Chapter III), by some dictionary com-

piled with a totally different dialect in view. When the two dialects are not too far apart a dictionary pronunciation will not betray its origin in most cases; the spelling provides the word with the sound which it would have had if it had come through the phonetic mill with the more popular words.

The parallel suggested between the position of the Chinese literary language and that of Latin in medieval Europe is complete if we remember that Latin itself varied in pronunciation with the native language of its speakers, though its character as a language artificially maintained protected it from the more violent phonetic handling of the popular language around it. So the Min literary forms (T'ang Min) differ in sound from place to place, but keep much more in common than do the Min popular forms of the same words. The effects of T'ang Min have not been equal in all Min dialects; probably in proportion to the literary culture of the several centres it has been more or less successful in displacing native forms. In some cases a word all but unknown to literature has a popular form only; many words, of course, the greater part of the immense Chinese vocabulary, have the literary form only, colloquial speech having no employment for them. Sometimes a popular form was too deeply implanted to be uprooted by the T'ang Min, and has forced its way into the book pronunciation of the locality; rarely, the two forms seem to have changed places, as where (221), P. /ma, 'horse', has ⁻ma as its literary form in Amoy as against the popular ⁻bɛ; normally the denasalised form belongs to the literary language. This literary language, T'ang Min, is reserved for later treatment, the section immediately following dealing with the popular forms only. The standard speech of Fuchow has been described in the preceding chapter.

We have seen how it was the state of Yüeh which overthrew the kingdom of Wu. Yüeh lay to the south of Wu, in the northern part of modern Fukien; and we are told in Chinese records that the two were the same in language. The name of Yüeh was later applied to all the country along the south-eastern and southern sea-board and even embraced northern Annam (Vietnam); but nothing obliges us to believe that this large area was of one speech and race. The present Min dialects occupy the whole of the province of Fukien (except the inland parts in the extreme west, where Hakka and Tingchow are spoken), and extend into Kwangtung with the dialects of Swatow and

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Chaochow, while an outlier, with very distinctive traits of its own, is spoken in Hainan, whence it has been carried, along with Amoy and Swatow, by emigrants to Malaya. Egerod has recently described a highly interesting Min dialect spoken by colonists from the southern Fukien region settled in Sze-Yap (see p. 235) area of Kwangtung, which has largely drawn on the neighbouring Cantonese dialect of Shekkei for its 'learned' pronunciations instead of on T'ang Min. The speakers of Min dialects have been estimated at a total of some thirty millions. The group has in common a number of features which mark it off clearly from the other dialects of Chinese, and these, with a very distinctive vocabulary, seldom leave us in doubt whether a dialect is to be assigned to the Min group or not, although the very mountain-ous nature of the country has hindered the extension of any one dialect at the expense of others, and dialectal divisions remain numerous and well-marked. Many of the Min forms can hardly be derived from the Ancient Chinese of the sixth century A.C., and seem to repose on a still earlier phase of the language. Wu, already to some extent sinicised, and Yüeh were incorporated in the Chinese dominions by the emperor Wu-ti about the end of the second century B.C., and there was ample time for them to develop local peculiarities before A.D. 601.

The Min dialects have been roughly divided into a northern and a southern group, the line of separation being that which separates dialects which at least sometimes keep the old nasal finals intact from those which have only -ŋ as representative of ACh. -ŋ, -n, -m. To the former group belong the southern dialects of Amoy, Swatow, and Chaochow; to the latter those of Kienning, Kienyang, Fuchow, and Hinghwa. Hainanese is ordinarily reckoned to the southern group, but its phonetic development is so peculiar as to warrant the creation of a third group to contain it alone. Northern Min shows some tendency to shade off into Wu, but a clear isogloss may be drawn where the old voiced stops cease to be pronounced, even con-ditionally, with the voice. There is no naturally sharp division be-tween the northern and the southern groups; Hainanese, separated by natural obstacles, has consequently a clear boundary, without transition forms. In the northern dialects final occlusives have left their only trace in the tone, whereas from Fuchow and Hinghwa southwards the glottal stop is regular, and finally in Amoy and

Swatow fully formed (but, of course, unexploded) occlusives appear. Even the final nasals are often reduced in the south as in the north to nasalisation of the vowel or to zero. Amoy, Swatow, and Chaochow agree with Hainanese in making -*u*- into -*a*- before a velar final, and in the change -(*w*)*a* > -(*w*)*ε*, while the other dialects keep the *a* or *o* vowel. It is the southern group more than the northern which converts *n*-, *ɲ*-, less often *nʒ*-, into *l*-; but this is a tendency rather than a phonetic law, exceptions among the commonest words being numerous.

The Min frontiers are just as sharp against Hakka and Cantonese, and, over the mountains north-westwards, against the Northern Chinese dialects of Kiangsi, as they are vague and fluctuating against Wu. From Wu the Min dialects differ as a whole in having lost the voiced pronunciation of occlusives, though such consonants exist secondarily in Amoy, derived from the denasalisation of *m*- to *b*-, etc. Unlike all dialects except Wu, Hakka and their group, Min treats the old voiced occlusives alike without regard to the tone; they have in each case developed into the corresponding unaspirated surd. The Min dialects have been generally hostile to fricatives (and affricates), and palatals: *pjw*-, etc. have become simple *p*-, *p'*-; and the *m*- remains from the combination *mjw*-. So—

(483), P. *fən*, 'manure', ACh. ʽ*p'uən* > Amoy ʽ*pun*;

(329), P. *wən*, 'ask', ACh. ‚*m'uən* > Amoy ‗*mŋ*.

As regards the palatals—

(484), P. ʼ*tṣ'uŋ*, 'insect', ACh. ‗*ḍ'uŋ* > Fuchow ʽ*təŋ*.

(432), P. *ɹou*, 'flesh', ACh. ‗*nʒ'uk* > Fuchow ⁻*nyˤ*.

The Min dialects generally do not distinguish *s* and *ʃ*, or *ts* and *tʃ*; Bien-ming Chiu in his transcription of Amoy writes *ts*- in all positions for the affricate answering to ACh. *tʃ*-, *ts*-; similarly, Tso Yumin, recording the Fuchow dialect, writes consistently *tɕ*-. The simple palatal occlusive (*ţ*-, etc.) of Ancient Chinese appears as a plain dental occlusive; it is not quite sure whether this is simply an archaism, the dialect from which Min derives never having gone beyond the Archaic stage of *t*-, or a regression forced by the old speech habits of the people of Yüeh. The foreign dialects speak in favour of the latter alternative.

In their tonal systems the two best known Min dialects differ considerably between themselves, but they agree with each other and

with the rest of the Min dialects in that the original lower ju-sheng has come to occupy a higher pitch than the upper; and also in the coalescence of the rising tones of both series, which have become even tones, slightly lower than the upper even. It is interesting to note that in the various local forms of Min the popular and literary (T'ang Min) forms of each word nearly always have one and the same tone, however greatly they differ in regard to the rest of their phonology. This can hardly be accidental, and the choice of explanations seems to lie between supposing that the Min language and Northern Chinese had, during their long separation before the introduction of T'ang Min to Fukien (at the end of the T'ang era, apparently), remained very stable in the matter of tones, or that the Min folk could accept, with a few adjustments, the new pronunciations of vowels and consonants, but could not tolerate two tonal systems side by side. The latter is the more probable suggestion.

Before leaving the subject of Min phonetic peculiarities, mention must be made of a trait which marks Min dialects off as a whole from the rest of Chinese. In dealing with Cantonese we noted a number of cases in which the modern form of a word is more easily derivable directly from the form in Archaic Chinese than from the more simplified forms of the Sian sixth century dialect. Throughout the Min area, not only is Ancient Chinese affricate more frequently preserved where other dialects have a fricative initial, but there are many forms with initial affricates which Ancient Chinese of the *Ts'ie-yün* had already reduced to fricatives, although in some cases the composition of the characters allows us to guess the existence of an affricate at a still earlier stage. To go no further than some of the commonest words in Amoy, we find: (268), P. *'ṣɪ*, 'ten', ACh. *‿ȝᶦəp*: A. *‾tʃap*; (456), P. *'ṣɪ*, 'eat', ACh. *‿dȝᶦək*: A. *‾tʃiaˁ*; (485), P. */ṣau*, 'few', ACh. *'ʃiɛu*: A. *-tʃio*; (486), P. *'ṣɪ*, 'stone', ACh. *‿ȝᶦɛk*: A. *‾tʃioˁ*; (477), P. *\ṣaŋ*, 'up', ACh. *‿ȝᶦaŋ*: A. *‿tʃiũ*; (431), P. *'ṣə*, 'snake', ACh. *‿dȝᶦa*: A. *√tʃoa*; (487), P. *-ṣu*, 'book', ACh. *‾fᶦwo*: A. *‾tʃu*; (273), P. */ṣuɛi*, 'water', ACh. *'ʃwi*: A. *-tʃui*; (349), P. *'tṣ'wan*, 'ship', ACh. *‿dȝwɛn*: A. *√tʃun*. In this list, which might easily be greatly extended or paralleled from any other Min dialect, it will be observed that such forms are more frequent in tones corresponding to the old lower series. Some of the above words have affricate forms in other dialects as well. The three upper tone words in the list have no affricate forms

reconstructed for them even in Archaic Chinese; but at least in the case of P. /ṣuɛi, 'water', we have collateral evidence in Tibetan *tʃʻu* to show that it has at some time shed a dental occlusive. Compare also the notes on these forms in Hainanese. Such cases, Min affricates answering to sibilants of other dialects, are very common indeed among Min popular words, and in some cases appear to invade T'ang Min forms as well: it may be, since no other dialect supports them, that T'ang Min had to compromise with local forms too strongly entrenched to be dislodged. So we have (488), P. \ɕiao, 'laugh', ACh. 'sⁱɛu, with *tʃ*- forms in Fuchow and Amoy (colloquial and literary), *s*- elsewhere; (489), P. -ɕiŋ, 'star', ACh. -sieŋ, with *tʃ*- forms in Hinghwa and Amoy colloquial, *s*- forms elsewhere. In both cases Hainanese has *s*-, which corresponds to *tʃ*- of other Min dialects; *s*- of other Min dialects would appear as *t*-.

There is some reason to think that the labio-dental fricative was never introduced into Min, and that the *h*- < ACh. *pjw*- in T'ang Min is not an attempt to reproduce the northern *f*-, but a fairly correct copy of the T'ang pronunciation. Even now the Japanese *f*- used to write words from ACh. *pjw*- is really a bilabial fricative; simple ACh. *p*- is given as *h*- in Japanese. But the kan-on is an unsafe guide on this point, for a number of reasons go to prove that the loss of closure in *p*- (which attacked every ACh. *p*-, and not only those which gave modern *f*-) occurred on Japanese soil, and does not represent the pronunciation of standard Chinese in T'ang times. More important is the coincidence in this respect between T'ang Min and certain dialects of north-west China. In all other modern dialects, ACh. '*pju*, 'office, storehouse', appears with initial *f*-, whereas Wênshui (Shansi) has *xu*, Amoy ʌ*hu*. This is an interesting confirmation of the view that there is a special connection between the two areas, probably by way of the linguistic standard of the T'ang era, which we have suggested in dealing with the phenomenon of denasalisation.

It would be easy to make a long list of words in Min which have no etymological correlates in the rest of China. To show something of the order of ideas expressed by these words, I quote a few specimens in the Fuchow dialect, most of which are used in phonetically corresponding forms in other Min dialects. Such words are either not written at all, or are written with locally invented characters, or with

characters expressing a similar meaning (but totally unconnected word) in literary Chinese. We have: ˌ*t'ai*, 'to kill'; -*ka*, 'foot'; ⁻*sioˁ*, 'one'; -*tſia*, 'this'; -*hia*, 'that'; ˌ*tſ'io*, 'house'; '*paiˁ*, 'know'; ˌ*kau*, 'arrive'; ˌ*keŋ*, 'high', -*kiaŋ*, 'son, child'. Whether these and other such words are really Chinese in origin is unknown: but one cannot look at the first two without thinking of words in the T'ai languages still surviving in south China; in Siamese *ta꞉i* means 'die', and *k'a* means 'thigh' (in Tho 'foot'). The last quoted Fuchow word is so thoroughly part of Min language that it is the ordinary diminutive suffix in most dialects, just as words of corresponding meaning are used to give the diminutive in Northern Chinese and Cantonese. It appears strange that Min should share with Wu so many phonetic traits and so little of its peculiar vocabulary. One of the few instances not extending into other dialects is the third personal pronoun, ⁻*i* in Fuchow, which seems cognate with the Ningpo form, and possibly with '*li* in Suchow but which is not general in Wu.

The Min dialects are more given to the expression of number in the pronouns than is usual in Chinese, but there is no common method of forming the plural. Amoy has somehow developed a plural in -*n*, as -*goa*, 'I', -*goan*, 'we', ⁻*i*, 'he', ⁻*in*, 'they', on which see p. 68. The same language has the grammatical luxury of distinct inclusive and exclusive forms for the plural of the first person: -*goan*, 'we (but not you)', ⁻*lan*, 'we (you included)'. This refinement is otherwise unknown in Sinitic, except for some Tibetan dialects, but is common in the Austronesian languages and in those of New Guinea and Australia. The emphasis on number in Min reminds us that T'ai as well as Mon-Khmer (including Miao) use distinct forms for the singular and plural of pronouns.

Further differences between Swatow and Amoy on the one hand and the northerly dialects on the other are seen in the treatment of initial nasals; characteristically *ŋ-* > *g-* in Amoy, Swatow, and Hinghwa, but remains elsewhere; Amoy and Swatow have popular forms in *b-* < ACh. *m-*, unknown in other varieties. Analogically one might have expected in the same dialects **d-* < ACh. *n-*; but *n-* was apparently saved from denasalisation by changing into *l-*. The denasalisation must, therefore, be here a relatively late phenomenon. The dialect of Kienyang stands far apart from the rest of Min, even from Kienning which is only 30 miles away, in representing

ACh. *t'*- by *h*-. This might be due to surviving speech habits of a
T'ai population, but the suggestion is less plausible than in the case
of Sze-Yap and Hainanese, because of the distance separating Kien-
yang from areas known to have been inhabited by T'ai, and because
it is the only phonetic feature in the dialect which clearly recalls T'ai
in its north-eastern forms.

Hainanese has a basis in common Min, and seems to build its
peculiar features on the traits of Amoy and Swatow where these
diverge from the rest of the group. But it is isolated by its radical
transformation of the dental initials. The *s*- sounds of Min, repre-
senting ACh. *s*-, *z*-, *ʃ*-, *ʒ*-, *ʂ*-, have given Hai. *t*-; the affricates,
whether purely dental, palatal, or retroflex, give *t*- when unaspirated,
but when aspirated give *s*-, which is obviously a later phenomenon
than the conversion of the original *s*- sound into *t*-. The old dental
aspirate, whether from ACh. *t'*- or *d*-, has become *h*-: (490), P.
-*t'uŋ*, 'through', ACh. ⁻*t'uŋ* > Hai. -*hoŋ*; (491), P. '*t'ou*, 'head',
ACh. ⌄*dəu* > Hai. √*hau*. There is change also in *p'*-, which is regu-
larly Hai. *f*-, a sound otherwise strange to Min, and in Hainanese
apparently not due to a following -*jw*-, as *hu* < ACh. *xjw*- is stable.
The nasal vowel which in Amoy and other Min dialects marks the
disappearance of a final nasal consonant has itself vanished; only -*ŋ*
survives. There are apparent exceptions to the rule *s*- > *t*-, but
these are readily explained when it is noted that every such case is
a word in which some other Min dialect has *tʃ*- instead of *s*-.

T'ANG MIN

We have said that Japan took over the Chinese characters in two
stages and with two systems of pronunciation, whereof one is named
from the region of Wu, while the latter is called kan-on, or 'Han pro-
nunciation'. The importance of the latter for the history of the Chinese
dialects is that it is the variety of the Chinese or one closely allied to it,
which seems also to have given to Fukien its literary form of the
language.

T'ang Min, except for one or two traits, derives fairly easily from
Ancient Chinese. It seems to have, before its introduction, passed
through the stage of *pjw*-, etc. > *f*-, or at least as far as *hw*-, for
the representation of these groups by *h*- in Min is ambiguous; if the
dialect before coming to Fukien already possessed a fully developed

f-, that sound, being strange to the local speech, may have been replaced by the familiar *h-*. T'ang Min is, in fact, a foreign dialect, on the same terms as Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese; the only respect in which it differs from them is that it was imposed on a people who already spoke a sort of Chinese. Transplanted from the district in which it was vernacular, it has escaped any further sound changes impending in its native home; adopted by Min speakers, it underwent some adaptation to the speech habits of its new speakers and that adaptation varied with the locality. But, by the mere fact that it was from its introduction a scholarly form of speech, used preeminently by the educated for special literary purposes, it was largely protected from too great phonetic disintegration, just as Latin pronounced in England up till last century and that spoken in France, widely as they diverged, still resisted certain of the phonetic changes of their respective hosts.

The salient features of T'ang Min are—

(i) more faithful retention of the final consonants than is found in the popular forms, the occlusives, for example, having in Amoy and Swatow the full applosive pronunciation, as in Cantonese;

(ii) the rendering of ACh. *m-*, *n-*, *ŋ-*, *ɲʐ-* by *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, *ʤ-* respectively (in other varieties by the corresponding unvoiced consonants); and

(iii) a greater tendency to reduce diphthongs than is seen in authentic Min.

The following short comparative table will bring out these points, as well as showing the nearness of T'ang Min to kan-on, while go-on shows considerably more affinity with the popular forms of Min:

	Pekingese	Meaning	Amoy (colloquial)	Go-on	Kan-on	Amoy (T'ang Min)
(480)	\jyɛ	moon	geˤ	gets	gwats	gwat
(492)	-ɕiuŋ	elder brother	hiã	kio	kei	heŋ
(449)	\ɕia	down	e	ge	ka	ha
(493)	'xuaŋ	yellow	ŋ	(w)o	kwo	hɔŋ
(494)	\fu	woman	bo	bu	fu:	hu
(495)	\miŋ	fate	mia	mio	bei	beŋ
(496)	\ʌɪ	day	niˤ	nitʃi	dʒits	dʒit
(497)	't'iɛn	field	tʃ'an	tʃin	ten	tian

Although modern palatalisations in Pekingese have obscured some of its features, it will be seen that, apart from the denasalisation, T'ang Min approaches also the Northern Chinese in most of the points in which it differs from the popular Min forms. Its northern provenance is further vouched for by the fact, so obvious as to be easily overlooked, that it has sounds only for the words which occur in the literary language, which was based on the vernacular of ancient north China. The sound change $m\text{-} > b\text{-}$, etc., is an unusual one, and is seldom found to occur 'spontaneously' i.e., unconditionally. It cannot be due to local Min speech habits, otherwise we should have found it with even more regularity among the native forms than among the literary, which is plainly not so. Everything, therefore, points to the introduction of this pronunciation from north China, where also the Japanese learnt it, and, in view of the rarity of this change, it is hardly likely, though we must admit it to be possible, that it arose independently in two parts of the Chinese area. Now, we have seen in the last chapter that something like it exists in the Chin dialects of Shansi; we are not bound to believe that T'ang Chinese was imitated with perfect exactitude when taken over by Min speakers, and a substitution, sudden or gradual, of $b\text{-}$ for $mb\text{-}$, $d\text{-}$ for $nd\text{-}$, etc., is very easy for a people unaccustomed to the more complex sound. It is not therefore to strain our actual knowledge too far to hold provisionally that a dialect derived from Chin was standard in China in T'ang times, and as such was taught to the Japanese inquirers after Buddhist truth, and later taken into Fukien by northern immigrants.

MINCHIA

Minchia is the name given to a language spoken in the town of Tali in Yünnan and in the plain surrounding it, with outlying dialects known as Lamajen further west and north-west. The name is Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves; it is written generally (408), P. *'min -tɕia*, literally 'families of the people', a singularly indistinctive appellation; but there is good reason to suspect, as we shall see later, that the first syllable was originally (499), ACh. *_mien*, with the same pronunciation as the word 'people' in most modern Chinese dialects. The latter word is the name of the river Min in Fukien, and was formerly used as the name of the province,

whence we have taken it as a general name for the typical dialects of Fukien. The Minchia call themselves, according to Fitzgerald, 'speakers of the white language', to which the author appends the note that in Minchia 'white language' does not mean 'colloquial' (500), (P. *'pai* *xua*), as it does in Chinese. It is, however, open to doubt whether such a negative statement is allowable in regard to a speech so penetrated by modern Chinese expressions as is Minchia, and, we may add, in regard to one so imperfectly explored.

The people are described as more civilised than most of the non-Chinese inhabitants of Yünnan, and as having no tradition of immigration from elsewhere. They have a few non-Chinese customs, such as marriage within the surname, but these need not necessarily be construed as proofs of their non-Chinese origin, if we remember the efforts on the part of the Chinese government even up to the late Ch'ing dynasty to suppress this custom in various parts of south China. If it was once a customary avoidance among the Minchia, their isolation from other Chinese may have made it difficult of observance and led to its abandonment.

So far as the present writer is aware, every writer so far has taken Minchia for an aboriginal tongue of unknown affinity, or has sought to attach it to this or that of the known language groups spoken by pre-Chinese, though all have admitted the obvious fact of a preponderating Chinese element in the vocabulary. Davies places it among the Mon-Khmer languages (with some reservation), and Fitzgerald finds its foundation in a polysyllabic language over which are spread two distinct layers of Chinese. Our knowledge of the language is inadequate for a thorough study; the most precise record in that given by Davies, though Fitzgerald's is fuller and accompanied by some grammatical notes, vitiated, however, for the linguist by the absence of any attempt at phonetic accuracy. Tones are not so much as mentioned, though their existence is almost certain *a priori*. If Minchia be admitted as an aboriginal language we have yet another ethnic element in China to reckon with; for this reason the dialect must be treated at some length.

The most striking phonetic trait of Minchia is its complete intolerance of final consonants of any sort. Having regard to this peculiarity, it is not hard, though some caution is required, to strip off the surface layers of its vocabulary, where the forms are the

nearest phonetically possible correspondents of the Northern Chinese forms; this accounts for the greater part of the words recorded. We next come to a stratum of words borrowed, Fitzgerald says, at a time when Chinese was more like Cantonese than modern Pekingese; of such are *ke*, 'chicken', P. *-tɕi*, C. ʿ*kai*, and *mu*, 'not', P. ʾ*wu*, C. *mou*. It is, I think, totally unnecessary to go further than this stratum to account for the overwhelming majority of Minchia words; the polysyllables, some of which Fitzgerald himself analysed, and many others of which are readily analysable with the help of the Min dialects, do not exist as a separate element in the dialect; though a complete explanation must wait until a really comprehensible phonetic script is applied to recording Minchia. The place of the numeral and classifier after its noun, suggested by Fitzgerald as evidence of non-Chinese origin, is after all merely that of the classical Chinese language; the use of distinct monosyllabic forms for the plurals of personal pronouns has a good parallel in Amoy, as well as in Miao and T'ai. If there be in Minchia a residue of vocabulary or other features inexplicable with reference to Chinese, this is no peculiarity of Minchia, but is true of every Chinese dialect of which we have knowledge, eminently so of Min. As is usual when one Chinese dialect is compared with another, it is the grammatical words,—pronouns, interrogatives, etc.,—which depart furthest from the other Chinese dialects.

So far as we know the Minchia vocabulary, it contains relatively few specifically Min words, but the following list is suggestive:

'Call':	Minchia	*œ*,	Amoy	*au*.
'Cut off':	Minchia	*kə*,	Hinghwa	*kwa*.
'Far':	Minchia	*twe*,	Kienning	*tau*.
'Egg':	Minchia	*se*,	Kienning	*sœŋ*.
'Wing':	Minchia	*k'ə*	Kienyang	*k'ɛ*.
'Cold':	Minchia	*kœ*,	Hainanese	*kwa*.
'See':	Minchia	*a*,	Hainanese	*o*.

But it is otherwise with the phonology of Minchia, which in the lower stratum agrees almost everywhere with Min developments. Thus, we have the psilosis in representation of the old voiced occlusives: (427), P. ʾ*p'i*, 'leather', ACh. _*bjie* > Minchia *pe*; (292), P. ʾ*p'iŋ*, 'level', ACh. _*biwvŋ* > Minchia *pœ*; (501), P. ʾ*ts'an*, 'silkworm',

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ACh. _dzam > Minchia tsa; (502), P. 'tɕ'iao, 'bridge', ACh. _giɛu > Minchia ku; (503), P. 't'ao, 'peach', ACh. _dau > Minchia ta. There is the complete loss of γ-, as in (449), P. \ɕia, 'down', ACh. 'γa > Minchia œ (cf. the modern borrowing in (504), P. -ɕiaŋ \ɕia, 'country', Minchia ʃio hœ); (391), P. 'ɕio, 'learn', Minchia œ. ACh. ɲʒ- appears as n- in ni, 'day', and ni 'enter'. The appearance of h- for ACh. t'- in (452), P. -t'iɛn, 'sky', Minchia he, and (505), P. -t'aŋ, 'soup', Minchia hə, reminds one of Hainanese, or of Kienyang, but cases are too few to build on. Then we have a number of forms in which a pre-Ancient Chinese affricate is preserved as a rule only in Min; such are (268), P. 'ʂɪ, 'ten', Minchia tsə, Amoy ⁻tsap; (486), P. 'ʂɪ, 'stone', Minchia tso, Amoy ⁻tsioꞋ; (506), P. 'ʂə, 'tongue', Minchia tse, Amoy ⁻tsit; (477), P. \ʂaŋ, 'up', Minchia tso, Amoy _tsiŭ.

Traces of T'ang Min are few and doubtful, and we may therefore place the separation of Minchia from Min very early, before the ninth century at the latest. The dialect has also certain peculiarities not paralleled elsewhere; thus (252), P. /pi, 'pen', is here fø, and (396), P. \lu, 'six', is also fø. The former certainly had once a double consonant, ACh. -pliɛt; and if the latter is to be brought neaɪer to Tibetan drug, we must have some form like *dluk at some stage; and it is not impossible to link the Minchia with the strange form teu, 'six', in Tingchow. The dialect would repay close examination, as it seems possible that, despite its loss of so many sounds, it may still keep some ancient features. Some of those noted may not be specifically Min traits, though now found almost only in Min: they may be inherited independently by Minchia from an older stage of the language, consisting as they do mainly in negative phenomena and not in innovations.

THE MODERN DIALECTS

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CHAPTER XII

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS
AND PROBLEMS OF CHINESE

Until the nineteenth century, China had been little affected by the civilisation of western nations. A few products of the European or Near Eastern peoples were imported into or naturalised in China, and with them, in a number of cases, came the foreign names which have remained as a permanent part of the Chinese language. But, after the great influx of Sanskrit terms brought in by the Buddhists, the vocabulary again became static, and, in fact, with the decline of Buddhism, many of its specific words tended to drop out of common use, and only a handful may be thought of as permanent additions to Chinese. It is probable that a Han scholar would have had very little difficulty in reading the literary or newspaper Chinese of the end of last century.

The advent of western Christianity did little to alter the state of affairs, although it has had a continuous tradition in China since Matteo Ricci began his work there in 1582. The earliest missionaries were men of high culture, and appreciated the need of expressing their creed in Chinese without deforming the language. Christianity, therefore, apart from the proper names necessarily employed, did not, like Buddhism, bring in polysyllables in which the characters were used for their sound value only; nor did it find it necessary to invent new characters. Conforming to the spirit of the Chinese language, it found that with simple combination of two or three characters it was perfectly possible to express the number of ideas new to the Chinese people which carried the less profound part of its theology. There were disagreements on the question whether the idea of 'God' was more fittingly rendered by (507), P. \ʂaŋ \ti, 'the emperor above', or by (508), P. -tʻiɛn /tʂu, 'the heavenly prince', and the denominations are still divided on the point, as on many others in the sphere of language. 'Redemption' was the more easily intelligible through some composition with (509), P. 'ʂu, since that word, originally applied to the redemption of a pledge, was already

in Confucius' time extended to cover redemption from punishment.

European material civilisation seems not to have been noticeably in advance of the contemporary culture of China until the latter half of the eighteenth century at the earliest, and the Chinese were probably not in any difficulty when required to find equivalents in their own language for the names of material things brought to them by the earlier voyagers from the West. Even with the immense additions to European mechanical devices in the early and middle nineteenth century, the natural addiction of the language to analysis and composition was in the main successful, and to this time we assign a number of expressions which are almost certainly permanent parts of the language. Like most European languages, Chinese interpreted a railway as an 'iron road', (510), P. /tʻiɛ\lu; a steamship became perfectly intelligibly a 'fire-ship', (511), P. /xuo 'tsʻwan; a microscope a 'display-minute lens', (512), P. /ɕiɛn 'wei \tɕiŋ. Even electric appliances and measures obtained readily understandable Chinese names when some person of more than ordinary perspicacity widened the meaning of the word (513), P. \tiɛn, 'lightning', to include the more general manifestations of its energy, and thereby made possible a large number of technical neologisms.

The real difficulties were met with when the Chinese began not merely to adopt the superficial products of European science, but that science itself. Distinctions fine enough for the practical purposes of everyday life had to be refined far beyond that point, and in many cases, as in the distinctions of the chemical elements, the differences were too subtle to be expressed by compounds of manageable length. In this difficulty Chinese was, of course, not alone; European languages are reduced to using Latin, or artificial Latin, constructions for the exact definition of natural species, and the names of many chemical elements are hardly more parts of the languages which employ them than the biological names. But it must be allowed that the embarrassment was greater in Chinese than in polysyllabic languages, which found no difficulty in assimilating such words as 'iridium', or 'zoophyte'. In the realm of chemistry Chinese has to a large extent met the problem by the coinage of new words, with characters formed on the traditional model of signific and phonetic, or by a revival of old characters on the chia-tsie principle. So we have (514), P. 'laŋ, a little used word for a kind of metal ornament, revived to

mean 'lanthanum'; (515), P. *pa*, an alternative writing of the word for 'harrow', specialised as the name of 'palladium'; (516), a newly composed character, for the gas argon.

These methods may be extended, and although the capabilities of the method of composition of words are limited, the limits are wide, and it is probable that Chinese will be able to provide itself with a vocabulary of scientific terms in this way at least to the extent that German and Dutch have done so.

There might seem to be greater difficulties in finding Chinese expressions for the abstract ideas with which the sciences deal, but this is not so. For example, (517), P. *li*, meant originally muscular strength; but already in the works of Mencius we find (518), P. *mu* *li* /ɔɪ *li*, 'the powers of seeing and hearing', so that to use that word to create a Chinese equivalent for 'dynamics', (519), P. *li 'ɕio*, involved a comparatively small extension of meaning. It might be theoretically objected that *li 'ɕio* could be taken 'as the science of physical strength or muscular development'; and, also theoretically, this is perfectly true and the fact that it does not have that meaning to anyone versed in modern technical Chinese is due solely to the context in which the expression is used, and to the fact that a compound of two or more words is something more than their mere juxtaposition, and gives rise to a third notion, which must be learned to some extent independently. Thus, no amount of intensive study of the two separate words 'plural' and 'voting' will lead one to a discovery of what is connoted by the phrase in which they unite, and further examples of phrases in which the whole is greater than the sum of the parts are numerous. In fact, a Chinese even slightly accustomed to reading works of science in his own language is just as unlikely to misinterpret *li 'ɕio* in the way suggested as is a German to think of emotion (one of the meanings of *Bewegung*) in connection with his equivalent *Bewegungslehre*. It is for this reason that I am unable to agree with Purcell (*Problems of Chinese Education*, Ch. IV) that 'for the purposes of teaching Western ideas, especially Western scientific ideas, the best course would be to adopt a Western language as a medium'. To form a new compound phrase is to place each of its parts in a new context, and the reader will by this time have seen that context is all-important in Chinese. So long as the compound is new and it is not sought to give new meaning to an existing phrase, the chances

of the whole being misinterpreted or bringing with it undesirable and misleading associations are negligible.

Many of the new compounds have come to Chinese by way of Japanese, the Japanese having set themselves earlier than the Chinese to assimilate the teachings of European science. It is scarcely necessary to say that in pronunciation such compounds give no indication of their passage through Japanese, and are therefore no parallels of, for instance, the French verb *flirter*, reimported from English.

Side by side with the above literary adoptions of foreign expressions there has gone on a popular, oral ingestion of alien, mainly English, words. Except in a few cases, where a monosyllable such as the English word 'port (-wine)' has been adopted and assigned the character (534), P. -*po*, the results of this method can hardly be said to be happy. In the first place, Chinese has no method of writing a mere sound apart from the meaning inherent in each written form, so that a polysyllable expressed by a string of characters causes much difficulty to the reader, whose first impulse is to endeavour to find some thread of meaning in the series. We have already quoted the case of the Chinese equivalent of 'coolie', and the same word exemplifies the further danger that words borrowed severally by speakers of different dialects will have assigned to them characters which express as nearly as may be the sound in each local speech, thus giving rise to a confusion of doublets. The polysyllables thus introduced do violence to the spirit of the language, and are not to be compared with the polysyllabic expressions which, like (520), P. -*i 'fu*, 'clothes', or (521), P. *tɕəŋ* |*fu*, 'government', have grown up inside the language by addition or subordination of one part to the other. No one with aesthetic feeling for the Chinese language will regret the passing of (522), P. '*tə* *ly* -*fəŋ*, 'telephone', in favour of (523), P. *tiɛn* *xua*, literally 'electric speech', or do other than deplore the vulgar and unnecessary (524), P. '*mo* -*təŋ*, for 'modern'. Purcell prefers the introduction of foreign polysyllables, but without, I think, fully appreciating the awkwardness entailed.

Probably more momentous even than the demand for a greatly increased vocabulary were the indirect results of the impact of Western peoples on the civilisation of China. The natural reaction to the feeling of inferiority engendered by the political methods of

Western countries was the development of national consciousness, and a desire on the part of the politically awakened Chinese to strengthen their country on the lines of European powers. One of the prime needs of the country was seen to be a common standard of speech which would break down the local particularism; another was the need of a written language sufficiently simple to be acquired by all without the years of study demanded in the effort to master the old literary style. The excessively literary bias of the old education left no time in school years for the factual subjects now recognised as necessary.

To adopt an alphabetic or syllabic form of writing while retaining the classical written language in other respects would give a quite unintelligible result, owing to the large number of homophones in classical Chinese when that is pronounced according to the sound system of any modern dialect. If a vernacular were adopted as the standard, unless it should be one of the Wu or Min dialects, which had been more or less successfully romanised by missionaries, it was necessary to retain the writing by characters, at least until such time as the standard dialect should be spread by the schools to the whole of China; otherwise anything written in a phonetic script in that dialect became at once incomprehensible to all except those acquainted with the particular dialect chosen.

When, therefore, largely through the efforts of Hu Shih, who began work in favour of the scheme in 1917, it was decided to adopt one variety of modern spoken Chinese as not only the spoken standard for the whole country, but also as the basis of a written language, it was at the same time decided to retain the character writing; and any literate Chinese could understand the new written style, even if he were unable to understand spoken Pekingese. It was inevitable that the dialect chosen as the 'national language', (423), P. *'kuo /jy*, should be Northern Chinese, it having the widest extension among the dialects.

Although the adoption of a national language and its teaching in all schools throughout the country was hailed with something like enthusiasm, it is too early to speak of the success of this effort to unify the language. In those parts of China where the vernacular diverges most conspicuously from it, the kuo-yü is in fact just one additional subject in the school curriculum, at best a *lingua franca*

enabling those of different dialects to meet without talking English; but it shows no signs as yet of any likelihood of supplanting the local speech for any purpose. It has been most successful in reducing the minor variations within the Northern Chinese area, and in regions such as Fukien, where the extreme complexity of the dialectal pattern render some means of communication outside the immediate neighbourhood, a more urgent need than elsewhere, and where, in fact, a form of 'Mandarin' had long been cultivated. In the two Kwang provinces, however, Cantonese remains the *lingua franca*, and its position is scarcely as yet threatened.

In the South, educated men regret the threat to cut the people off from their cultural heritage in the old literature; while in its home-land the trivial associations of the colloquial phrases of kuo-yü render it less suitable for elevated topics, and cause a greater or less intrusion of literary diction into the popular framework. Languages, and especially spoken languages, are born and not made, but have often been artificially guided and controlled in their evolution, and it is not impossible that from these beginnings there may arise a unified spoken language, and a dignified literary language for the whole of China. The complete supersession of the local forms of Chinese, how-ever, is probably still far in the future and its achievement depends on a long period of peaceful and centralised government. We must remember that even in those conditions a century of compulsory elementary education has not yet given England a generation of teachers all speaking standard English, let alone such a generation of school children.

The learning of kuo-yü by the speakers of the dialects, and of the more difficult or unusual characters by kuo-yü speakers, has been facilitated by the official adoption of a phonetic writing for use in conjunction with the characters, the so-called 'forty-symbol system', now officially known as (525), P. \tṣu -jin 'fu \xao, 'phonetic sym-bols'. In teaching kuo-yü, very simple matter can be set out entirely in these symbols, the characters being introduced gradually until the whole text is in characters; or the symbols may be printed side by side with the characters and in smaller type to give the pronunciation.

Most newspapers now publish at least a part of their matter in the popular written language, with more or less concession to the old literary style, especially in parts of the country where the new

written language does not repose on the language as locally spoken. It is to some extent used in more serious books; articles in the *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, for instance, are, on the whole, more often written in the classical literary style.

Other and less radical methods of bringing the writing of the language within the reach of persons of modest education have been advocated, and some have been utilised by printers for some time past. Chinese had not until recently provided itself with a system of punctuation, and the absence of such a system from the older literary texts adds greatly to their obscurity. It is now usual to divide clause from clause by a kind of comma. Other printers go further, and add signs which fulfil the function of our quotation marks; and the want of capital letters or other means of distinguishing a proper name from the same characters used with their normal meaning is often supplied by lines along the right-hand side of the column. Still others have gone so far as to introduce the whole European scheme of punctuation marks, with unpleasant results on the appearance of the writing. It is to be hoped that these signs will be accommodated to the appearance of the Chinese script, or their use abandoned altogether; they are hardly necessary, for both in the old and the new written styles the final particle of the sentence is of itself enough to show when it is to be read as a question or as an exclamation.

It is perhaps a fact that the difficulties of the classical written language have been much exaggerated. Much of the difficulty has been caused by a tradition of fine writing, which looks upon literary allusions of the most recondite sort as ornaments rather than as faults, and sets no store by clarity of expression. For dealing with most of the concerns in which the average person in an educated democracy is interested, the writing of the news items in Chinese newspapers is adequate; and, given that the Chinese characters are to be retained, then it is probably as simple as anything that can be devised, and universal elementary education in China would readily bring almost everyone to the mastery of this 'basic Chinese'.

De Francis has given a well documented account of the many abortive projects for the reform and eventual alphabetisation of the Chinese language; unfortunately, his work was published only a few years before the adoption by the Chinese government of the best planned of these schemes and that most likely to achieve success. The

scheme is in two parts, viz., the simplification of a number of unduly complicated characters, and the adoption of an alphabet based largely on the Roman, but with a few symbols taken from the International Phonetic script and from Cyrillic. The introduction of the new methods is to be gradual; from time to time lists of authorised abbreviated characters are and will be published, and many such are already in official use in government documents and are given preference in the excellent dictionary, *Han-yü ts'z-tien*, published in Shanghai in 1957. Many of these abbreviations have been in common but unauthorised use for informal purposes among the people for a long period. The alphabetic script is primarily intended to help in the vast programme of overcoming illiteracy; not only will it permit of the direct rendering of foreign proper names and technical words, but it may be used as a supplement to write a Chinese word by those ignorant of the correct graph. Ultimately it is intended that alphabetic writing shall supplant the traditional ideographs for everyday purposes, while the latter would still be studied by historians of culture.

Even the least developed language is probably capable of expressing any ideas which its speakers may wish to express; and, if it does not yet possess the means of expression for certain ideas, it is because the ideas themselves do not exist in the minds of its speakers. This judgment is subject to the proviso that no arbitrary rule of purism be imposed: when new ideas have to find expression, a language in natural conditions either forms the appropriate words from its own resources, or imports them. Chinese, as we have seen, has employed both methods, and the process is not yet complete; but to conclude from the fact that Chinese has not as yet an accepted expression for this or that scientific concept is as irrelevant to the question of the capabilities of the language as if one should criticise English on the ground that much of our modern thinking will not go into the language used by Bacon or Milton. A language is always sufficient to the needs of its speakers at any stage in their cultural history.

In this chapter, which is in part an evaluation of the Chinese language as a vehicle of cultural expression, we have several times compared it with German in respect of its methods of word-formation. Both tongues seek their new words in their own material, and are free from the needless complication of vocabulary which we see when,

e.g. French *aveugle* has corresponding to it the noun *cécité*. Palmer writes: 'An Englishman wishing to speak abstractly of the unmarried state must use the word *celibacy*, a new and difficult word differing entirely from *wed, marriage,* and *bachelor*. Contrast this with the simplicity of German: *die Ehe* means wedlock; from this there is formed an adjective *ehe-los*, "unmarried" '; and he comments: 'German is far superior to English in the simplicity and transparency of its symbolism', and sees in this a reason for higher cultural level among German speakers. Whether the last conclusion be just or not, it seems probable that unrelated vocabulary entails unnecessary mental effort and tends to concentrate learning on the acquisition of vocabulary rather than on the thoughts expressed. With difficulties of its own in a script which must always involve a severe strain on the memory, Chinese must nevertheless be allowed to share with German this advantage that it meets all demands with a very limited stock of fundamentally distinct words, analysing the concept to be expressed and combining familiar words for the new ideas. This may in part counterbalance the difficulties of the character writing.

We cannot conclude our study better than with a quotation from one of the most judicious essays on the achievements and capabilities of Chinese: 'Chinese prose has a great future before it. It can in time rival any national language in power and beauty. The best modern English prose is distinguished by a healthy mixture of concrete words of imagery, taken from the homely English language, and words of more exact definition and literary meaning, taken from the Romanic heritage . . . The two components, concrete and abstract words, exist in great richness in the Chinese language. Its basic structure is concrete throughout, like the Anglo-Saxon words, and the literary heritage of the classical literature has left behind a vocabulary more stylistic and refined in meaning, which corresponds to the Romanic terminology in English. From the mixture of these two elements in the hands of a true literary craftsman there will yet emerge a prose of the greatest power and beauty.' (Lin Yutang, *My Country and my People*, Ch. VII).

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APPENDIX I

LITERARY EXTRACTS

The extracts which follow, arranged as nearly as may be in chronological order, are designed to illustrate the changes in the written language from the earliest times to the present day. They are not chosen as examples of the best writing; but in most cases they owe their preservation to the fact that they exemplified the most admired literary style. Even the inscriptions, we may be sure, were composed by persons skilled in such compositions and followed a traditional order; and it is only with many reservations that we may draw any conclusion as to the spoken language of the times.

I. From the *Shi Ching*, no. 5 of the *Festal Odes of Shang*. This poem was assigned to about 1260 B.C., but the attribution to a date earlier than the Chou dynasty has been doubted by many scholars, including Legge and, apparently, Karlgren, and the question can scarcely even now be said to be definitely decided.

'Vigorous was the warlike spirit of Yin; with energy he smote Ching-Ch'u. He went deep into their defences; he collected the host of Ching. He cut off that country. T'ang's descendant continued his work.

You people of Ching-Ch'u live in the southern parts of the realm. Of old there was T'ang the Perfector; from yonder (region of the) Ti and Chiang none dared to omit to come with tribute, none dared to fail to come to do homage. The saying goes: Shang is constant.

撻彼殷武
奮伐荊楚
深入其阻
裒荊之旅
有截其所
湯孫之緒

維女荊楚
居國南鄉
昔有成湯
自彼氐羌
莫敢不來享
莫敢不來王
曰商是常

Heaven ordained the many fiefs. He founded cities on the sites planned by Yü. To the yearly court came the princes, (praying): "Let not calamity light upon us!" In sowing and reaping they were not remiss.

By heaven's decree he was the overseer. To the humble people he was austere; neither arrogant nor over-severe, nor yet carelessly idle. Ordained (to rule) the subject states, in his greatness he built up their prosperity.

天命多辟

設都于禹之績

歲事來辟

勿予禍適

稼穡匪解

天命降監

下民有嚴

不僭不濫

不敢怠遑

命于下國

封建厥福

Shang's city was well-ordered, a model for the four quarters. Glorious was its renown, and pure was its intelligence. In age and serenity (he remains) to protect his posterity.

We scale yonder hill of Ching; the pines and cypresses, how straight! These we felled, these we carried away, squared and hewed with care. The pine beams were long; many the columns and majestic. May he rest (so) in perfect peace!'

I have preferred a bald and almost literal translation, which loses any attempt to reproduce the poetry. The ode refers to the building of a temple in honour of the founder of the dynasty. The absence of pronouns leads to ambiguity, and some of the phrases above are susceptible of other interpretations than those given. Ch'u was an ancient feudal state with its centre in northern Hunan. The Ti and Chiang were barbarians of the south-west of the old empire, in what is now Szech'wan. The phrase -ṣaŋ ṣɪ 'tṣ'aŋ is a play on words, the first and last words having the same sound, or nearly so, except in the matter of tone.

商邑翼翼
四方之極
赫赫厥聲
濯濯厥靈
壽考且寧
以保我後主

陟彼景山
松柏丸丸
是斷是遷
方斲是虔
松桷有梴
旅楹有閑
寢成孔安

II. An inscription on a bronze bell, probably of about 1042 B.C.:

'The Emperor instituted a civil and military inspection of the territories and frontiers. The Fu-yao of the states to the south of our lands dared to ravage our territory. The Emperor made war on them till he had conquered them. Then he deputed (me), Hsien, to create and dispose of in his name twenty-six fiefs in the south and east, His Majesty the Emperor above enlightened and protected me like a little child. I planned; success or failure depended on me. (In order) hereafter to accord with Royal Heaven, the Emperor, before (his ancestors) made for the ancestral Chow (temple) precious bells, *tsang*, *t'uo*, *hsiung*, and *yung*, for the greater glory of his ancestors the old emperors. Their august presence dwells above, and can show pleasure by bestowing many blessings on me, and give to my sons and grandsons glory and long life, benefit or injury, for ten thousand years. May they prosper and protect my three fiefs!'

In the text the first character in the last line but two is followed by a character which cannot be read.

王肇建相文武堇疆

土南國服要敢名虐

我土王烹伐至撲

伐乃都服要迺遣閒

來造昭王南

節東節貝見廿

有六邦唯皇上帝

囟神保余小子朕

獻有成亡競我唯能憛降余多福

嗣配皇天王對作余子孫參壽唯利

宗周寶鐘倉宅雄割其萬年畯

雖用咠格不顯祖保三國

考先王其嚴在上

III. An inscription, the earliest bearing date in the cyclical characters (567 B.C.):

In the year chia-wu, 8th month, ping-yin day, the Emperor purified himself, went to the temple, carried out the ceremonies, and offered this basin, to propitiate the bright spirits. May the spirits see this piety and cause the Emperor for ten thousand years to keep in peace his appointed office!'

覽是德俾　蠲明神神　禮簠吉　清廟作　丙寅帝盥　唯甲午八月

綏受命　帝萬年永

LITERARY EXTRACTS

IV. From the 'Art of War' of Sun Tsz Wu, floruit 500 B.C.;

'There are not more than five cardinal tastes, yet combinations of them yield more flavours than can ever be tasted. In battle there are not more than two methods of attack,—the direct and the indirect; yet these two in combination give rise to an endless series of man-oeuvres. The direct and indirect lead to each other in turn. It is like moving in a circle—you never come to an end. Who can exhaust the possibilities of their combinations? The onset of troops is like the onset of a torrent which will even roll stones along in its course. The quality of decision is like the well-timed swoop of a falcon which en-ables it to strike and destroy its victim. Therefore the good fighter will be terrible in his onset and prompt in his decision. Energy may be likened to the bending of a cross-bow; decision, to the releasing of the trigger. Amid the turmoil and tumult of battle, there may be seeming disorder and yet no real disorder at all; amid confusion and chaos, your array may be without head or tail, yet it will be proof against defeat.'

—Translation by L. Giles.

味不過五五味之變不可嘗也戰
勢不過奇正奇正之變不可勝
窮也奇正相生如循環之無端孰
能窮之激水之疾至於漂石者勢
也鷙鳥之疾至於毀折者節也是
故善戰者其勢險其節短勢如彍
弩節如發機紛紛紜紜鬬亂而不
可亂也渾渾沌沌形圓而不可敗也
亂生於治性生於勇弱生於彊

V. The following is taken from book 6 of the *Lun Hêng* of Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27–97); the subject of the essay is *'luŋ -ȿy*, 'Baseless Ideas about Dragons'.

'Moreover the relations of heaven and earth are those of husband and wife, they being the parents of mankind. If a son offend his father and his father in anger beat him till he die, will not his mother weep? Now, heaven in anger slays men; earth should weep for it. But we hear only the wrath of heaven, and not the weeping of earth. If earth cannot weep, neither can heaven be wroth. Again, where there is anger, there too is rejoicing; if man has secret faults, he also has secret virtues. When he has secret faults, heaven is angry and slays him; if he has secret virtues, heaven similarly should reward him for his virtue. The rumble of thunder is said to be the wrath of heaven; if heaven is pleased, it will smile and laugh. Man has the faculties of pleasure and anger, and it is on this account that we say that heaven is pleased and angry. We project our idea of man to understand heaven. Our knowledge of heaven has its origin in man; if man were not subject to anger, then we should have no grounds for saying that heaven is angry. But in starting from man to understand the ways of heaven we must use the human faculties in their entirety. By nature, man when angry will roar; when happy he will sing and laugh. In comparison with the frequency with which we hear heaven's anger, it is seldom that we hear heaven's joy; as compared with heaven's punishments, it is seldom that we see heaven confer rewards. Why should heaven show anger and not pleasure, being eager to punish and sparing in rewards? Why is there tangible proof of angry punishment but no evidence of satisfaction and reward? Again, when lightning strikes, breaking trees and ruining houses, if sometimes it slays men, it is taken to be the wrath of heaven; but when at times it merely thunders, does not break or demolish, nor yet slay men, can this be futile anger of the part of heaven? The rulers of men are not pleased or angry to no purpose; if they are pleased or angry, rewards or punishments surely follow. Futile anger without effectual punishment would mean that heaven is un-intelligent.'

且天地相與夫婦也其即民父母
也子有過父怒笞之致死而毋不
哭乎今天怒殺人地宜哭之獨聞
天之怒不聞地之哭如地不能哭
則天亦不能怒且有怒則有喜
人有陰過亦有陰善有陰過天

怒殺之如有陰善天亦宜以善
賞之隆隆之聲謂天之怒如天之
喜亦哂然而笑人有喜怒故謂天
喜怒推人以知天知天本於人如人
不怒則亦無緣謂天怒也緣人以
知天宜盡人之性怒則呴呼喜
則歌笑比聞天之怒希聞天之喜

比見天之罰殺希見天之賞豈天

怒不喜貪於罰希於賞哉何怒

罰有效喜賞無驗也且雷之擊也

折木壞屋時犯罰人以為天怒時

或徒雷無所折敗亦不殺人天空

怒乎人君不空喜怒・喜怒必有

賞罰無所罰而空怒是天妄也

VI. A poem by T'ao Ch'ien, A.D. 365–427:

'In the quiet of the morning I heard a knock at the door;
I threw on my clothes and opened it myself.
I asked who it was that had come so early to see me:
He said he was a peasant, coming with good intent.
He brought a present of wine and rice-soup,
Believing that I had fallen on evil days:
"You live in rags under a thatched roof,
And seem to have no desire for a better lot.
The rest of mankind have all the same ambitions.
You too must learn to wallow in their mire."
"Old man, I am impressed by what you say,
But my soul is not fashioned like other men's.
To drive in their rut I might perhaps learn:
To be untrue to myself could only lead to muddle.
Let us drink and enjoy together the wine you have brought:
For my course is set and cannot now be altered".'

—Translation by A. Waley.

The language of this poem is interesting, as it keeps closer to the natural Chinese word order than is common in the poetry of T'ang and later times, when order was sacrificed to the exigencies of metre and rime, and only an appreciation of the sense aids one to construe the lines.

清晨聞叩門，倒裳往自開。
問子為誰歟，田父有好懷。
壺漿遠見候，歎我與時乖。
襤褸茅檐下，未足為高樓。
一世比相㒠，原君泊其離。
深感父老言，稟氣寡所諧。
紆轡誠可學，違已詎非迷。
且可歡此飲，吾駕不可回。

VII. Some verses from the *'tṣaŋ \xən -ko*, 'Ballad of Endless Woe', of Po Chü-i, A.D. 772–846. I have chosen a specimen of the work of Po to illustrate the poetical diction of the T'ang era rather than poems of some of his greater contemporaries, because his work was recognised even in his own day as being more simple and natural. It is written of him that he was in the habit of reading his verses to an old servant, rejecting any expressions which the illiterate woman failed to understand. Whether true or not, this tradition proves that Po's work represents fairly closely the syntax of the spoken language of his own days.

'(Saying) how, although their love on earth has so soon come to an end,

The days and months among the Blest are still of long duration.

And now she turns and gazes towards the abode of mortals,

But cannot discern the Imperial city lost in dust and haze.

Then she turns out the old keepsakes, token of undying love,

A gold hairpin, an enamel brooch, and bids the magician carry them back.

One half of the hairpin she keeps, and one half of the enamel brooch,

Breaking with her hands the yellow gold, and dividing the enamel in two.

"Tell him", she said, "to be firm of heart, as this gold and enamel,

And then in heaven or on earth below we two may meet once more."

At parting she confided to the magician many earnest messages of love

Among the rest recalling a pledge mutually understood;

How on the seventh day of the seventh moon in the Hall of Immortality

At midnight, when none were near, he had whispered in her ear,

"I swear that we will ever fly like the one-winged birds

Or grow united like the tree with branches which twine together."

Heaven and earth, long-lasting as they are, will some day pass away;

But this great wrong shall stretch out for ever, endless, for ever and aye.'

—Translation by H. A. Giles.

It is most interesting to compare the above translation with that of W. J. B. Fletcher in his *More Gems of Chinese Poetry*, and to observe the numerous and not unimportant discrepancies. Such a comparison brings out an important feature of the language in its written form, a vague formlessness which renders it a perfect instrument for lyric poetry, just as it takes from its aptitude for the precision demanded in scientific prose. In Fletcher's version, for instance, the whole of the above extract with the exception of the last two lines is interpreted as direct speech; and both readings are equally allowable. We may thus observe how the paucity of pronouns here, and the absence of indication of tense in the verb, permit of the translation given by Giles, 'she turns and gazes' equally well with that of Fletcher, 'When I turn my head and view'; and the aesthetic result is a timelessness and impersonality which is the keynote of Chinese poetry as of Chinese plastic art.

惟將舊物表深情
不見長安見塵霧
回頭下望人寰處
蓬萊宮中日月長
昭陽殿裏恩愛絕

鈿合金釵寄將去

釵留一股合一扇

釵擘黃金合分鈿

但教心似金鈿堅

天上人間會相見

臨別殷勤重寄詞

詞中有誓兩心知

七月七日長生殿

夜半無人私語時

在天願作比翼鳥

在地願為連理枝

天長地久有時盡

此恨綿綿無絕期

VIII. A specimen of the prose of Tu Mu, A.D. 803–852, contemporary with the last author.

'War may be defined as punishment, which is one of the functions of government. It was the profession of Chung Yu and Jan Ch'iu, both disciples of Confucius. Nowadays, the holding of trials and hearing of litigation the imprisonment of offenders and their execution by flogging in the market place, are all done by officials. But the wielding of huge armies, the throwing down of fortified cities, and the haling of women and children into captivity, and the beheading of traitors—this is also work done by officials. The objects of the rack and of military weapons are essentially the same. There is no intrinsic difference between the punishment of flogging and cutting of heads in war. For the lesser infractions of law, which are easily dealt with, only a small amount of force need be employed; hence the institutions of torture and flogging. For more serious outbreaks of lawlessness, which are hard to suppress, a greater amount of force is necessary; hence the use of military weapons and wholesale decapitation. In both cases however the end in view is to get rid of wicked people, and to give comfort and relief to the good.'

—Translation by L. Giles.

兵者刑也、刑者政事也為夫

子之徒實仲由冉求之事也、

今者據案聽訟械繫罪人、

答死于市者吏之所為也驅

兵數萬、摬其城郭、璺其妻

子、斬其罪人、亦吏之所為
也、木索兵刃、無異意也、笞
之與斬、無異刑也、小而易
制、用力少者、木索笞也、大
而難治、用力多者、兵刃斬

也、俱期於除去惡民、安活善民、

IX. From an essay of Yeh Shui-hsin, A.D. 1151–1223:

'From the flourishing period of the Chow dynasty down to the time of the "Spring and Autumn", all military commanders were statesmen as well, and the class of professional generals, for conducting external campaigns, did not then exist. It was not until the period of the "Six States" that this custom was changed. Now, although Wu was an uncivilised state, is it conceivable that Tso should have left unrecorded the fact that Sun Wu was a great general and yet held no civil office? What we are told, therefore, about Jang-chu and Sun Wu is not authentic matter, but the reckless fabrication of theorising pundits. The story of Ho Lü's experiment on the women, in particular, is utterly preposterous and incredible.'

—Translation by L. Giles.

自周之盛至春秋，凡將兵者必與
聞國政，未有特將於外者，六國時
此制始改，吳雖蠻夷，而孫武為大
將，乃不為命卿，而左氏無傳焉，可
乎，故凡謂穰苴孫武者皆辨士妄
相標指非事實，其言闔閭試以
婦人，尤為奇險不足信．

X. A passage from the best known of Chinese novels, the *San Kuo Yen I*, or *Tale of the Three Kingdoms*. It is attributed to one Lo Kuan-chung, and is believed to date from the thirteenth century. An English translation of the following passage is to be found on pp. 278–80 of Giles's *Chinese Literature*.

The language, it will be seen, is still classical, and there is little in vocabulary to distinguish it from anything written in earlier centuries. The style is easier, and there is no attempt at the balanced periods and antitheses of which we have seen a beginning in Wang Ch'ung, and which have characterised the literary language till our own day. We note, however, the use of classifiers, of which there is hardly a trace in the oldest language; and their position after the noun, contrary to the usage of the modern vernaculars.

華歆入奏曰、大王知有神醫華陀

否、操曰即江東醫周泰者乎、歆曰

是也、操曰雖聞其名、未知其術歆

曰、華陀字元化沛國譙郡人也、其

醫之之妙、世所罕有、但有患者

或用藥或用鍼、或用灸、隨手而愈

有一人被犬咬足指隨長肉二塊一
痛一癢俱不可忍陀曰痛者內有
黑白棋子二枚,人皆不信陀以刀
割開果如其言,此人真扁鵲倉
公之流也現居金城離此不遠大
王何不召之操即差人星夜請華

陀入內令診脈視疾陀曰大王頭腦

疼痛因患風而起病根在腦袋中

風涎不能，杜服湯藥不可治療，

某有一法，先飲麻肺湯然後用

利斧砍開腦袋取出風涎方可除

根，操大怒曰汝要殺孤耶陀曰大王

若患五臟六腑之疾藥不能效者以
麻肺湯飲之令病者如醉死却用
尖刀剖開其腹以藥湯洗其臟腑
病人略無疼痛洗畢然後以藥線
縫口用藥敷之或一月或二十日即平
復矣其神妙如此一旦陀行於道上

聞一人呻吟之聲陀曰此飲食不下之

病問之果然陀令取蒜虀汁三升

飲之吐蛇一條長二三尺飲食即下

廣陵太守陳登心中煩懣面赤不

能飲食求陀醫治陀以藥飲之吐

蟲三升皆赤頭首尾動搖登問

其故陀曰此因多食魚腥故有此
毒今日雖愈三年之後必將復發
不可救也後陳登果三年而死又
有一人眉間生一瘤癢不可當令
陀視之陀曰内有飛物人皆笑之陀
以刀割開一黃雀飛去病者即癒
曾聞關公中毒箭傷其右臂某

刮骨療毒關公略無懼色今大王

小可之疾何多疑為操曰臂痛

可刮腦袋安可破開汝必與關公

情熟乘此機會欲報讎耳呼左

右縶下獄中拷問其情賈詡諫

曰似此良醫世罕其匹未可廢也

操叱曰此人欲乘機害我正與吉平

無異

XI. Very little later than the *San Kuo* is the *Hsi Yu Chi*, or *Relation of Western Travels*, a sort of immensely long fairy tale set against a background of Buddhist and Taoist beliefs. Like the *San Kuo*, it also cannot be accurately dated, but even if we suppose more than a century to intervene between the composition of the two works, the period is too short to account for the complete difference in the language; and we must believe that, while the former work is written in the conventional literary language with only a few concessions to the colloquial, the *Hsi Yu Chi* is, in its informal conversational parts at least, a faithful record of the spoken language of Mongol times, in every respect closer to modern Northern Chinese than to the classical language of literature.

The extract given tells of the Monkey God's abandonment of his post as Constable to the Jade Emperor on discovering that he has been assigned one of the meanest employments in Heaven. It exemplifies most of the traits in which Modern Chinese departs from the classical literary language,—otiose compounds, the use of temporal auxiliaries with the verb, the modern range of personal pronouns and their plural forms, the modern interrogatives, and the general use of the classifier in its modern position before the noun. Towards the end of the extract we find a case in which the classifier follows its noun (as in the preceding specimen); but this occurs in the more formal speech of the Devil Princes who come as suppliants, and is not general in the more colloquial passages throughout the work.

一朝閑暇衆監官者安排酒席一則與他接風二則與他賀喜正在歡飲之間猴王忽停杯問曰我這弼馬溫是個甚麼官銜衆曰官名就是此了又問此官個幾品衆道没有品從猴王道没品想是大之極也衆道不大不大只喚做未入流猴王道怎麼叫做未入流衆道

末等這樣官兒最低最小只可與他看

馬似堂尊到任之後這等態慈喂得

馬肥只落得道聲好字如稍有些

贏還要見責再十分傷損還要見責

再十分傷損還要罰贖問罪猴王聞

此不覺心頭火起咬牙大怒道這般藐

視老孫老孫在那花果山稱王稱祖怎

麼哄我來替他養馬養馬者乃後生小

輩下賤之役豈是待我的不做他不做

他我將去也忽辣的一聲把公案推倒

耳中取出寶貝幌一幌碗來粗細一路

解數直打出御馬監徑至南天門衆

天丁知他受了仙籙乃是個弼馬溫

不敢阻擋讓他打出天門去了須臾

擦落雲頭回至花果山上只見那四健
將與各洞妖王在那裏操演兵卒這
猴王厲聲高叫道小的們老孫來了一
羣猴都來叩頭迎接進洞天深處請
猴王高登寶位一壁廂辦酒接風都
道恭喜大王上界去十數年想必得意
榮歸也猴王道我纔半月有餘那裏

有十數年眾猴道大王你在天上不覺

時辰天上一日就是下界一年哩請問

大王官居何職猴王搖手道不好說

活活的羞殺人那玉帝不會用人他

見老孫這般模樣封我做個甚麼

驍馬溫原來是與他養馬未入流品

之類我初時到任不知只在御馬監

中頊要及今日問我同寮始知是這等
卑賤老孫心中大惱推倒席面不受官
銜因此走下來了衆猴道來得好來得
好大王在這福地洞天之處為王多少尊
重快樂怎麼肯去與他做馬夫教小的們
快辦酒來與大王解悶正飲酒歡會間
有人來報道大王門外有兩個獨角鬼

王要見大王猴王道教他進來那鬼王
整衣跑入洞中倒身下拜美猴王問他
你見我何幹鬼王道久聞大王招賢
無由得見今見大王揆了天籙得意榮
歸特獻赭黃袍一件與大王稱慶、

XII. From the *Amplification of the Imperial Edict*, the so-called 'Sacred Edict', published by the Emperor Yung Ching, A.D. 1723–1736.

The style is here again, as is natural in an official document, severely classical, and no one could infer from it that the spoken language had already some four hundred years before advanced to a stage which, pronunciation apart, is practically Modern Chinese.

'Now filial piety is the rule of heaven, the righteousness of earth, and the duty of mankind. If a man does not know the duty of piety towards his parents, is it not simply because he does not reflect on the love of parents for their children? While he was yet in the parental bosom, if he was hungry, he could not feed himself; cold, he could not clothe himself. The parent notes the voice of his children and judges by their appearance; if they laugh, he is glad on their account, and sad if they cry. When they begin to walk, he will not leave their steps. If they are ill or in pain, then he will forgo both sleep and food in order to care for and educate them. Even when they are grown up he seeks for them a partner in marriage and plans their livelihood. He schemes a hundred projects, wearing body and soul. The kindness of parents is indeed boundless as the vault of heaven! If a son desires to make even the slightest return for their loving care, at home he must apply all his heart, and abroad all his strength. He must be careful of his person and thrifty in spending in order to serve them with diligence and to sustain them with generosity and filially. He must not gamble or drink spirits, neither love quarrelling nor desire wealth for his wife and children. Though his manners and education be undeveloped, yet his mind must be thoroughly honest. To extend this principle further: Tsang-tsz has said: 'To move and act without dignity is unfilial; to serve one's ruler without loyalty is unfilial; to act as a public officer without earnest obedience is unfilial; insincerity in dealing with one's friends is unfilial; cowardice in war is unfilial. The duty of filial piety comprises all these things.'

夫孝者天之經地之義民之行也人不
知孝父母獨不思父母愛子之心乎方
其未離懷抱飢不能自哺寒不能自
衣為父母者審音聲察形色笑則
為之喜啼則為之憂行動則跬步
不離疾痛則寢食俱廢以養以教至
於成人復為授家室謀生理百計經
營心力俱瘁父母之德實同昊天罔

極人子欲報親恩于萬一自當內盡其心
外竭其力謹身節用以勤服勞以隆孝
養毋博奕飲酒毋好勇鬥很毋好貨
財私妻子縱使儀文未備而誠慤有餘
推而廣之如曾子所謂居處不莊非孝
事君不忠非孝蒞官不敬非孝朋友不
信非孝戰陣無勇非孝皆孝子分內之
事也

XIII. A passage from *Fou Shêng Liu Chi—Six Chapters of a Floating Life*, written by Shên Fu of Suchow, about the year 1800.

Although the style is easy and simple, it is entirely in the literary language. The language of Suchow, whether the local dialect or the kuan-hua, of a century and a half ago can hardly have been very different from those languages today, and it is incredible that husband and wife should in familiar conversation have used the purely literary grammar seen in this excerpt, even when we make allowance for the fact that both of them were well educated in the older literature. Full of charm as it is, the language is nevertheless artificial, and shows little trace of the spoken language of its time and place.

'At this time there was an old peasant woman living on the east of Mother Gold's Bridge and the north of Kênghsiang. Her little cottage was surrounded on all sides by vegetable fields and had a wicker gate. Outside the gate, there was a pond about thirty yards across, and a wilderness of flowers and trees covered the sides of the hedgerow. This was the old site of the home of Chang Ssuch'eng at the end of the Yüan Dynasty. A few paces to the west of the cottage, there was a mound filled with broken bricks, from the top of which one could command a view of the surrounding territory, which was an open country with a stretch of wild vegetation. Once the old woman happened to mention the place, and Yün kept on thinking about it. So she said to me one day: "Since leaving the Ts'anglang Pavilion, I have been dreaming about it all the time. As we cannot live there, we must put up with the second best. I have a great idea to go and live in the old woman's cottage." "I have been thinking, too," I said, "of a place to go and spend the long summer days. If you think you'll like the place, I'll go ahead and have a look. If it is satisfactory, we can carry our beddings along and go and stay there for a month. How about it?" "I'm afraid mother won't allow us." "Oh, I'll see to that", I told her. So the next day I went there and found that the cottage consisted only of two rooms, which were partitioned into four. With paper windows and bamboo beds, the house would be quite a delightfully cool place to stay in. The old woman knew what I wanted and gladly rented me her bedroom, which then looked quite new, when I had repapered the walls. I then informed my mother of it and went to stay there with Yün.

有老嫗居金母橋之東埂巷之北繞屋皆菜
圃編籬為門門外有池約畝許花光樹影
錯雜籬邊其地即元末張士誠王府廢
基也屋西數武瓦礫堆成土山登其巔可
遠眺地曠人稀頗饒野趣嫗偶言及芸神
往不置謂余曰自別滄浪夢魂常繞今
不得已而思其次其母嫗之居乎余曰連朝
秋暑灼人正思得一清涼地以消長晝卿若

Our only neighbours were an old couple who raised vegetables for the market. They knew that we were going to stay there for the summer, and came and called on us, bringing us some fish from the pond and vegetables from their own fields. We offered to pay for them, but they wouldn't take any money, and afterwards Yün made a pair of shoes for each of them, which they were finally persuaded to accept. This was in the seventh moon when the trees cast a green shade over the place. The summer breeze blew over the water of the pond, and cicadas filled the air with their singing the whole day. Our old neighbour also made a fishing rod for us, and we used to angle together under the shade of the willow trees. Late in the afternoons we would go up on the mound to have a look at the evening glow and compose lines of poetry, when we felt so inclined.'

—Translation by Lin Yutang.

願往我先觀其家可居即撲被而往作一月盤

桓何如芸曰恐堂上不許余曰我自請之越

日至其地屋僅二間前後隔而為四紙糊竹

榻頗有幽趣老嫗知余意欣然出其卧室為

賃四壁糊以白紙頓覺改觀于是稟知吾母

挈芸居焉鄰僅老夫婦二人灌園為業知

余夫婦避暑于此先來通慇懃並釣池魚

摘園蔬為饋償其價不受芸作鞋報之始

謝而受時也七月綠樹陰濃水面風來蟬鳴駢耳鄰老又為製魚竿與芸垂釣于柳陰深處日落時登土山觀晚霞夕照隨意聯吟

XIV. A passage from the *National New Life Movement* of 1934. This specimen shows the modern kuo-yu as applied to a serious piece of political exhortation.

般普通社會如此就是屬於政府機關或
軍隊裏面的情形也是五十步與百步之
差你看在南昌的幾個音樂隊就各個
不同無論服色態度精神以及音調
節奏都不整齊劃一現在的新生活運
動乃是要使一般國民個個人所能知所
能行的日常生活要以禮義廉恥為基
礎而照着我們所提倡的「整齊」「清潔」

來仍舊毫無結果現在先就一般冠
婚喪祭典所用的禮樂來說就是雜
亂無章不成一個體制有時婚禮來
用喪禮的樂譜喪禮反用婚禮的儀
式不曉得成什麼樣子我今天在路上
遇見一家出喪他也有西洋的軍樂
也有中國的古樂窄着周禮所規

定的蔴衣而又坐了現代的汽車五花八門
不知道是一個甚麽禮就拿這個事
情來說就可知中國社會風俗都是
亂七八糟這就表現中國社會一般人的
毛病我們新生活運動所提倡禮義廉
恥的禮節決不是這樣的禮而且要改
革這樣不合人情的惡禮其實不僅一

今天想再將新生活運動的意義

和大家解釋一遍現在我們中國人

做事有一個普通的病象就是虛

有其表不重實際不時矯枉過正

就是有始而無終所以無論什麼

事到最後總是做成一個「三不像」

那怕是一件很好的事情做到後

「簡單」「樸素」和「迅速」「確實」這六項運動為標準隨時隨地來身體力行本來這是一個很普通很平常很簡單的日常生活的運動

APPENDIX II
THE COMPARATIVE TABLES

In the tables which follow I have tried to bring together, for the purpose of comparison with the forms in Ancient Chinese and with each other, the pronunciations of a number of the commonest characters, showing, for instance, under one initial in the ancient language words illustrating the behaviour of that initial in various circumstances, before velar, palatal, and labial vowels; and so far as tones seem to have influenced the development of the sound in one or more dialects, in various tones. The words have been chosen from the commonest vocabulary of everyday speech; I believe this to be very important, as a word found only on the lips of the better educated is inevitably under suspicion of having been influenced in its pronunciation by the literary language, and of not exemplifying the uncontaminated sound development of the dialect.

All the words have been reduced to expression in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, and in all cases I have avoided a narrower transcription than seemed to be demanded by etymological considerations, and have thereby kept to the commoner phonetic symbols.

Blanks appear here and there in one or other column. This is due either to my failing to find a local equivalent in that dialect for a particular word, its place having been taken by one modelled on the standard language; or to the fact that the word, though common enough in other dialects, is not part of the strictly colloquial speech of that area; or because I have not had the opportunity to record its pronunciation directly from native speakers nor happened to meet with a transcription on which I felt that I could rely.

To have added a separate table of final sounds would have meant much duplication and prolonged the lists excessively. I have, however, so varied the choice of illustrative words as at the same time to illustrate every Ancient Chinese final given by Karlgren. The most serious fault remaining, therefore, is that the finals appear in no order, and that there is some inconvenience in seeking them in the lists.

The velar occlusive and velar nasal initials:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
加	-ka	add	-tɕia	ˋka	-ka	-ka	-ka	-kɛ	-ka
改	'kai	change	/kai	'kɔi	ˋkɔi	ˋkæ	-kuɪ	'kwɛ	'kai
國	-kwək	kingdom	'kuo	-kwɔk	{-kwɛt / -kok}	-kwɒˢ	,kuoˢ		_kok
坑	-k'ɒŋ	ditch	-k'əŋ	ˋha:ŋ	-haŋ	-k'ã	-k'aŋ	-k'ĩ	-k'aŋ
欠	ˋk'iɒm	owe	\tɕ'ɛn	-hi:m	k'iam	√tʃ'i:ɛ	,k'iɛŋ		
曲	-k'ⁱuk	bent	-tɕ'y	{-k'uk / -huk}	-k'iuk	-tʃ'uɪˢ	,k'uoˢ		
去	ˋk'ⁱwo	go	\tɕ'y	-hœy	ˏk'i	√tʃ'y	,k'ɔ	,k'i	,k'u
苦	'k'uo	bitter	/k'u	'fu	ˋk'u	ˋk'ɒu	-k'u	'k'o	'k'o
窮	_giuŋ	poor	'tɕ'iuŋ	,k'uŋ	-k'juŋ	√dʑuŋ	√kyŋ		√kjoŋ
近	,giən	near	\tɕin	,k'an	,k'jun	ˋdʑɛn	,køyŋ		_kun
掘	_giuət	dig	'tɕyɛ	_kwat	-k'jut	-dʑœˢ	-kuˢ	-kut	-kut
舊	,giəu	old	\tɕiu	_kau	,k'iu	ˋdʑy	,ko	_ku	_kiu
牙	_ŋa	tooth	'ja	,ŋa	-ŋa	√ŋa	ˋŋa	√kɛ	
月	_ŋⁱwɒt	moon	\jyɛ	_jyt	-jɛt	-ŋæˢ	-ŋuoˢ	-kɛˢ	-kuat
外	,ŋwai	outside	\wai	_ŋɔi	-ŋoi	ˋŋa	\ŋiɛ	_kwa	_kwɛ
魚	_ŋⁱwo	fish	'jy	,jy	-ŋ	√ŋ	ˋŋy		
五	,ŋuo	five	/wu	,ŋ	ˋŋ	ˋŋ	\ŋo	_ko	_ko

The T'ang Min forms are quoted in the pronunciation of Amoy.

The book forms of the words 'change', 'bent', 'go', 'old', 'outside', in Fuchow are respectively -kai, ˏk'øyˢ, ˏk'øy, ˏkɛu, ˏŋuoɪ.

ACh. -ka, 'add': Hinghwa (Min) has 'kɔ, where the vowel approximates in sound to the usual representation of ACh. -a in Wu.

Cantonese is very irregular in its representation of ACh. k'-, which sometimes remains as k'-, more often > h- (combining with -w- to give f-). It seems probable that the k'- forms are 'dictionary pronunciations', based on fan-ts'ie spellings; see Chapter XI.

ACh. ‚gjən, 'near': Cantonese has also ‗kan, mainly as a book pronunciation, which has, however, become colloquial in a few fixed phrases.

The velar fricative initials:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
好	'xau	good	/xau	'hou	ˋhau	ˋhœ	-hɔ	‚ho	‚hɔ
火	'xua	fire	/xwo	'fɔ	ˈfɔ	ˋhɒu	-huɪ	‚hɛ	‚hɔ̃
香	‾xⁱaŋ	fragrant	‾ɕjaŋ	ˋhœŋ	-hjɔŋ	-ʃjã	-hiɔŋ	-hjũ	-hiɔŋ
血	‾xiwet	blood	/ɕyɛ	-hy:t	-hɛt	-ʃyɛɕ	-haiɕ		
喜	'xji	joy	/ɕi	'he:i	ˋhi	ˋʃi	-hi	'he	'hi
下	‚ɣa	down	\ɕja	‗ha	ˋha	ˋɔ	‚a	‗ɛ	‗ha
鞋	‗ɣa:i	shoe	'ɕjɛ	‚ha:i	‚hai		ˋœ	√wɛ	
和	‚ɣwa	peace	'xo	‚wɔ	-fɔ			√ho	
學	‗ɣauk	learn	{'ɕyɛ / 'ɕio}	‗hɔk	-hɔk	‾ɔɕ	‾ɔɕ	‾ɔɕ	‾hak
紅	‗ɣuŋ	red	'xuŋ	‚huŋ	-fuŋ		ˋɔŋ	√aŋ	'hoŋ

ACh. ‾xiwet, 'blood': Tingchow has *fe*. C. and Hakka do not combine *x-w-* into *f-* when a fully vocalic *i* intervenes.

The T'ang Min form of ACh. 'xua, 'fire', appears to be abnormal, and it is hard to account for the nasal vowel. One would expect -o, as in (535), ACh. ˋkua, 'pass'.

Fuchow book forms for the words in the above list are: -huo 'fire', -hiɛɕ 'blood', -huɔ 'peace', ‾hɔɕ 'learn', -huŋ 'red'.

Cantonese loses *ɣ-* before -*w*-; cf. also (536), ACh. ‚ɣwa:i, 'speak', > C. ‗wa. Hakka retains it and fuses it with -*w*- to form *f*-.

The dental occlusive and nasal initials:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
得	⁻tǝk	get	'tǝ	⁻tak	-tɛt	-tǝˤ	-tɛˤ	-tit	-tɛk
東	⁻tuŋ	east	-tuŋ	ˋtuŋ	-tuŋ	-tuŋ	⁻tǝŋ	-taŋ	-toŋ
帝	'tiei	king	\ti	-tai	ˏti	ˏti	ˏtæ	ˏtɛ	ˏtai
頂	'tieŋ	summit	/tiŋ	'tiŋ	{ ˋtin / ˋtaŋ }	ˋtiŋ	-t'iŋ	ˏtɛŋ	
脫	⁻t'wat	take off	-t'uo	-t'yt	-t'ɔt	-t'ɤˤ	-t'auˤ		-t'wat
通	⁻t'uŋ	through	-t'uŋ	ˋt'uŋ	-t'uŋ	-t'uŋ	-t'ǝŋ	-t'aŋ	-t'oŋ
體	't'iei	body	/t'i	't'ai	ˋt'i	ˋt'i	-t'æ	ˏt'ui	
天	⁻t'ien	sky	-t'iɛn	ˋt'i:n	-t'ɛn	-t'i	-t'iɛŋ	-t'ĩ	-t'ian
大	ˏdai	big	\ta	_ta:i	-t'ai	ˏdau	ˏtuai	_twa	_tai
定	ˏdieŋ	fix	\tiŋ	_tiŋ	-t'in	ˋdin	ˏtiaŋ	_tjã	-tɛŋ
弟	ˏdiei	younger brother	\ti	_tai	-t'i	ˋdi	ˏtiɛ	_ti	_te
同	_duŋ	with	't'uŋ	ˏt'uŋ	-t'uŋ	√duŋ	ˋtǝŋ	√taŋ	√toŋ
讀	_duk	read	'tu	_tuk	-t'uk	-duˤ	-tǝˤ	-t'ak	-t'ok
亭	_dieŋ	pavilion	't'iŋ	ˏt'iŋ	-t'in	√din	ˏtiŋ	√tɛŋ	
内	ˏnuai	inside	\nei	_nɔi	\lui	ˋnɛ	ˏnɔi	_lai	_lwe
南	_nam	south	'nan	ˏna:m	-lam	√nu	ˋnaŋ	√lam	
能	_nǝŋ	can	'nǝŋ	ˏnaŋ	-lɛn	√nɛn	ˋney	√lɛŋ	
怒	ˏnuo	anger	\nu	_nou	lu	ˋnvu	ˏno		_lɔ
年	_nien	year	'niɛn	ˏni:n	⁻nɛn	√ɲɛ	ˋɲieŋ	√ni	√lian

The Sze Yap dialect has regularly *h-* for *t'-*, zero for *t-*, original or secondary: ACh. ⁻tǝk > ⁻ak, ACh. ⁻t'uŋ > ⁻huŋ, ACh. ⁻t'ien > -hjɛn, ACh. _duk > 'ok.

Hainanese has regularly *t-* for simple *t-* (whether < ACh. *t-* or *d-*), *h-* for *t'-* of whatever origin: ACh. ⁻tuŋ > -taŋ, ACh. 'tieŋ >

'*teŋ*, ACh. _*t'wat* > -*hut*, ACh. ⁻*t'ien* > -*hi*. For ACh. _*d'ieŋ*, 'pavilion', we should have expected *tiŋ, as the Min dialects do not as a rule aspirate in the lower tones, but we actually find √*hiŋ*.

ACh. ⁻*tuŋ* > A. -*taŋ*: The *a* in place of the *u* vowel is one of the characteristics of the Min dialects.

The word (497), ACh. _*d'ien*, 'field', is very irregular in the popular forms of Min, which all show *tʃ'*-; even Tingchow has *tʃeŋ* (without the aspirate) and the Minchia *tʃi* may be connected. Hainanese has √*saŋ*, showing that it goes back to an affricate initial. The forms elsewhere, including those in the foreign dialects, are regularly derivable from Ancient Chinese. Even if we suppose a by-form with palatal affricate it would still not account for the unusual aspiration of a lower tone in Min. Fuchow has '*tʃɛŋ* (popular) and '*tiɛŋ* (literary).

The *l*- in place of *n*- must have been imposed on T'ang Min after the adoption of that dialect by Amoy; there is no such change in the T'ang Min in other dialects, like Swatow, for instance.

The book forms of the Fuchow words in the above list are: 'get' ˌ*taiˤ*, 'east' ⁻*tuŋ*, 'summit' _*tiŋ*, 'take off' -*t'uaˤ*, 'through' ⁻*t'uŋ*, 'big' ˌ*tai*, 'fix' ˌ*teŋ*, 'younger brother' ˌ*tæ*, 'with' '*tuŋ*, 'read' ⁻*tuˤ*.

The palatalised dental initials:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
知	⁻*ţie*	know	⁻*tʂɪ*	'*tʂi*	-*tʃi*	-*tsz*	-*tʃai*	-*tʃai*	-*ti*
轉	'*ţ'wen*	turn	/*tʂwan*	'*tʂy:n*	'*tʃɔn*	'*tsuɪ*		'*tŋ*	'*tʃwan*
猪	⁻*ţ'wo*	pig	/*tʂu*	'*tʂy*	-*tʃu*	-*tsuɪ*	-*ty*	-*ti*	
徹	⁻*ţ'iɛt*	pierce	*tʂ'ə*	-*tʂ'i:t*	-*tʃ'ɛt*	-*ts'əˤ*			
重	_*d'woŋ*	heavy	*tʂuŋ*	ˌ*tʂ'uŋ*	-*tʃ'uŋ*	'*zuɪŋ*	'*t'yŋ*	-*taŋ*	_*tjoŋ*
住	ˌ*d'u*	dwell	*tʂu*	_*tʂy*	'*tʃ'u*	*z*		-*ti*	
蟲	_*d'uŋ*	insect	'*tʂ'uŋ*	ˌ*tʂ'uŋ*	-*tʃ'uŋ*	√*zuɪŋ*	'*təŋ*	√*t'aŋ*	
女	ˌ*ņwo*	woman	/*ny*	ˌ*næy*	'*ŋi*	'*ny*	⁻*ny*	/*lu*	

The vowel of P. -*tʂɪ*, 'know', is accounted for by the fact that the palatals in this dialect changed to retroflex affricates, which entailed a more backward sound. The word is inserted here although its

forms are not typical of the sound changes in some dialects; in Amoy and T'ang Min one would have expected to find the initials in the opposite places, forms without palatalisation belonging as a rule to the lower stratum of the Min language.

Here and in the following lists *tṣ-* has been written everywhere for the Cantonese affricates, though it is customary to divide them into two series, *ts-* and *tʃ-*. Its production varies considerably, and few speakers are really consistent; a pure dental rendering is rare, and it is never accompanied by protrusion of the lips. Two positions are frequent; the tip of the tongue against the hard palate; and the tip turned downwards, the blade touching the hard palate. This applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the distinction between *s-* and *ʃ-* in Cantonese. In learning English, the Cantonese finds *r-* or *θ-* much less troublesome than the distinction of *s-* and *ʃ-*. The view here taken is in agreement with that of Messrs. Jones & Woo (*Cantonese Phonetic Reader*, 1906), where the authors state that the actual sounds seem to vary between the alternatives of *ts* and *tʃ*. It is not impossible that the current distinction in books written by Europeans (Eitel, Ball, O'Melia, etc.) was suggested unconsciously by their authors' acquaintance with Northern Chinese, where the distinction is valid, or by such acquaintance on the parts of their teachers.

Fuchow book pronunciations are: 'know' *-ti*, 'turn' *-tioŋ*, 'pierce' *ˌtieˤ*, 'heavy' *ˈtyŋ*, 'dwell' *ˌtʃɛy*.

The tone, and consequently the unaspirated initial, in P. *\tṣuŋ*, 'heavy', are irregular. The dialect has the regular development *ˈtṣʻuŋ* specialised to other meanings.

The palatalised dental affricates:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
照	'tʃɛu	shine	\tʂau	-tʂi.u	\tʃau	'tsæ	‚tʃieu	‚tʃio	‚tʃiau
種	'tʃiwoŋ	plant	\tʂuŋ	-tʂuŋ	‚tsuŋ	'tsuŋ	‚tʃeyŋ	‚tʃɛŋ	‚tʃioŋ
主	'tʃⁱu	master	/tʂu	'tʂy	'tʃu	'tsɯ	-tʃio	'tʃu	
車	⁻tʃʻⁱa	cart	-tʂʻə	'tʂʻɛ	-tʃʻa	-tsʻɔ	-tʃʻia	-tʃʻja	
出	⁻tʃʻⁱuet	out	-tʂʻu	⁻tʂʻut	-tʃʻut	-tsʻɒˤ	-tʃʻoˤ		⁻tʃʻut
尺	⁻tʃʻɛk	foot (measure)	/tʂʻɪ	-tʂʻɛk	-tʃʻak	-tsʻɒˤ	-tʃʻioˤ	-tʃʻjoˤ	-tʃʻɛk
蛇	₋dʒⁱa	snake	'ʂə	‚ʂɛ	-ʃa	/zɔ	'siɛ	/tʃwa	/sjá
食	₋dʒⁱək	eat	'ʂɪ	₋ʂik	⁻ʃit	-zɔˤ	⁻sjaˤ	⁻tʃjaˤ	⁻sit
神	₋dʒⁱen	spirit	'ʂən	‚ʂan	-ʃin	/zən	'siŋ	/sin	/sin
船	₋dʒⁱwɛn	ship	'tʂʻwan	‚ʂy:n	-ʃɒn	/zu	'suŋ	/tʃun	
入	₋ɲʒⁱəp	enter	\ʌu	₋jap	⁻ɲip	[-tie]	[⁻dʒip]	⁻dʒip	
熱	₋ɲʒⁱɛt	hot	\ʌə	₋ji:t	⁻ɲjɛt	⁻ɲɛˤ	⁻jɛˤ	[⁻dʒwaˤ]	⁻dʒjɛt
日	₋ɲʒⁱet	sun	\ʌɪ	₋jat	⁻ɲjit		⁻niˤ	⁻niˤ	⁻dʒit
人	₋ɲʒⁱen	man	'ʌən	‚jan	⁻ɲin	/ɲɛn	'nəŋ	/laŋ	/tʃin
耳	‚ɲʒⁱ	ear	/əʌ	‚ji	'ɲi	'ɲi	‚ɲe	₋hi	⁻dʒɪ
二	‚ɲʒⁱ	two	\əʌ	₋ji	'ɲi	'ɲi	‚ne	₋li	⁻dʒi
肉	⁻ɲʒⁱuk	flesh	\ʌou	₋juk	⁻ɲuk	⁻ɲjʌˤ	⁻nyˤ	⁻nɛk	⁻dʒjok

The bracketed form in the Fuchow column is probably etymo-logically connected with the forms of the other dialects, but is not the normal phonetic equivalent. Those bracketed in the Amoy column have been affected by T'ang Min.

It is apparent that there is much irregularity in the representation of ACh. ʤʻ-. The normal developments in NCh., C. and H. seem to be into ʃ-; we might suggest interdialectal borrowing in the case of

ACh. _ʤʰwɛn, 'ship', where Wu and Min generally prefer the affricate forms; and we remember that Wu was in antiquity more advanced in the art of navigation than was Central China. But the irregularity is not confined to marine terms; and moreover we are expressly told that ACh. _ʤʰwɛn is a Shensi word.

Fuchow book forms are: 'master' -tfy, 'foot' -tfʿɛ, 'eat' ⁻siʿ, 'man', `iŋ. Hainanese shows regularly s- for tʃ'-: 'cart', is -sja, 'out', -sut.

A tendency, possibly surviving from what was once a general law in part of the Min area, is seen in Hinghwa 'snake' √yɛ, 'ship' √yiŋ.

The dental affricates:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
姐	'tsʰa	elder sister	/tɕiɛ	'tʂɛ	`tsia	`tsja	-tʃia	'tʃi	
早	'tsau	early	/tsau	'tʂou	`tsau	`tsæ	-tʃa	'tʃa	'tʃo
井	'tsʰɛŋ	a well	/tɕiŋ	'tʂɛŋ	`tsiaŋ	`tsin	-tʃaŋ		/tʃeŋ
子	'tsi	son	/tsɤ	'tʂi	`tsi	`tsz		'tʃi	/tʃu
足	⁻tsʰwok	foot	'tsu	⁻tʂuk	-tsiuk		-tʃɛyʿ		-tʃiok
祖	'tsuo	grandfather	/tsu	'tʂou	`tsu	`tsvu	-tʃu		'tʃɔ
草	'ts'au	grass	/ts'au	'tʂ'ou	`ts'au	`ts'æ	-tʃ'au	'tʃ'au	'tʃ'o
請	'ts'ʰɛŋ	request	/tɕ'iŋ	'tʂ'iŋ	`ts'iaŋ	`ts'in	-tʃ'iaŋ	'tʃ'iã	'tʃ'ɛŋ
七	⁻ts'ʰet	seven	-tɕ'i	⁻tʂ'at	-ts'it	⁻ts'iʿ	-tʃ'ɛʿ	-tʃ'it	-tʃ'it
千	⁻ts'ien	thousand	-tɕ'iɛn	`tʂ'i:n	-ts'ɛn	-ts'i	-tʃ'ieŋ	-tʃ'eŋ	-tʃ'ian
牆	_dzʰaŋ	wall	'tɕ'iaŋ	,tʂ'œŋ	-ts'ioŋ	√zjã	`tʃioŋ	√tʃ'iũ	√tʃ'ioŋ
坐	,dzwa	sit	\tsɔ	,tʂ'ɔ	`ts'ɔ	`zvu	,sɔi	_tʃɛ	_tʃo
財	_dzai	wealth	'ts'ai	,tʂ'ɔi	-ts'ɔi	√zɛ	tʃai		√tʃai
前	_dzien	before	'tɕ'iɛn	,tʂ'i:n		√zi	,seŋ	√tʃeŋ	√tʃian

For 'foot', Amoy uses a word ⁻k'a (see Chapter XI) of independent origin; and for the other meaning of the same character, viz.,

'enough', it uses (321), ˌkau; therefore there is no phonetic equivalent of ACh. ⁻ts�ⁱwok in colloquial Amoy.

Hainanese has s- for the aspirates in this series, as in the palatalised series above: 'grass' 'sau, 'seven' -sit, 'thousand' -sai; and t- for ACh. ts-; 'early' -ta, 'grandfather' 'tœu. We should expect t- also in the lower tonal series, to represent the originally voiced affricates, but s- is more common, at least in the even tones: 'wall' √sio, 'wealth' √sai, 'before' _sin; contrast 'sit' _tʃɛ.

Note that all varieties of Min prefer the affricate (or, in Hainanese, its derivatives) in this series, which is never, as in the palatalised occlusives, represented by Min t-. ACh. tʃ- probably goes back to ArCh. ţ-.

Fuchow literary pronunciations are: 'elder sister' -tʃi, 'early' -tʃɔ, 'well' -tʃiŋ, 'grass' -tʃ'iŋ, 'request' -tʃ'iŋ, 'sit' ˌtʃɔ, 'before' ˌtʃieŋ.

For the apparent discordance between NCh. and C. in regard to the development of ACh. ˌdzˈwa, 'sit', see Ch. XI. Cantonese has also _tṣɔ, as a book form.

The retrofedex dental affricates:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
壯	'tṣaŋ	strong	\tṣwaŋ	-tṣɔŋ	ˌtsoŋ		ˌtʃauŋ		
爭	⁻tṣvŋ	quarrel	-tṣɘŋ	'tṣaŋ	-tsaŋ	⁻tsã	-tʃaŋ	-tʃi	-tsaŋ
阻	'tṣ'wo	hinder	/tṣu	'tṣɔ	'tsu	\tsvu	-tʃu	'tʃo	
創	'tṣ'ⁱaŋ	establish	\tṣ'waŋ	-tṣ'ɔŋ	ˌts'ɔŋ	-ts'ã	ˌtʃ'auŋ		ˌtʃ'ɔŋ
楚	'tṣ'ⁱwo	thorns	/tṣ'u	'tṣ'ɔ	'ts'ɔ	'ts'vu	-tʃ'u		ˌtʃ'ɔ
牀	_dɹiaŋ	bed	'tṣ'waŋ	ˌtṣ'ɔŋ	-ts'ɔŋ	√zã	ˌtʃ'ɔŋ	√tʃɛŋ	
事	ˌdɹi	affair	\ṣɪ	_ṣi	ˌsu	'z	ˌsɘy	_si	_su

The backward-turned position of the tongue has given rise to a strong -w- off-glide, which has either remained as -w-, as in some of the Pekingese forms above, or has affected the following vowel, as is seen most clearly in the Pekingese form for 'affair', and in some of

ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
⁻pʌk	hundred	/pai,'po	⁻pa:k	⁻p'ak	⁻pʌꞎ	'paꞎ	⁻pɛꞎ	⁻pɛk
⁻pək	north	/pɛi,\po	⁻pak	⁻pɛt	⁻puiꞎ	'paɔꞎ	[⁻pak]	⁻pok
⁻pwat	eight	⁻pa	⁻pat	⁻pat	⁻puiꞎ	,paiꞎ	⁻pwɛꞎ	⁻pat
'puən	trunk	/pən	'pu:n	ˋpun	˷pʌn	⁻puoŋ		,pun
ˋp'waŋ	let out	\faŋ	⁻fɔŋ	fɔŋ	˷fã	,poŋ	,paŋ	⁻hoŋ
⁻p'wei	to fly	⁻fei	ˋfe:i	⁻fui	⁻fi	⁻puɪ	⁻pi	⁻hwi
⁻p'wen	side	⁻piɛn	ˋpi:n	⁻pɛn	⁻pi	⁻peŋ	⁻pi	⁻pian
ˋp'ua	break	\p'o	⁻p'ɔ	ˎp'ɔ	˷p'u	⁻p'ɔ	ˋp'o	ˎp'wa
ˋp'wan	decide	\p'an	⁻p'u:n	ˎp'an	˷p'ø	,p'uaŋ	ˎp'wã	ˎp'wan
⁻p'ʻwoŋ	bee	⁻fʌŋ	ˋfuŋ	⁻fuŋ	⁻fuŋ	⁻p'uŋ	⁻p'aŋ	⁻hoŋ
˷b'waŋ	room	'faŋ	˷fɔŋ	⁻fɔŋ	˷vã	ˋpuŋ	˷paŋ	
ˌb'wʌm	offend	\fan	˷fa:n	ˋfam	ˋvæ			˷hwan
˷bʌk	white	'pai,'po	˷pa:k	⁻p'ak	˷pʌꞎ	⁻paꞎ	⁻pɛꞎ	
ˌb'wʌŋ	illness	\piŋ	˷pɛŋ	⁻p'jaŋ	ˋpin	,paŋ	˷pi	⁻peŋ
˷bəŋ	friend	'p'əŋ	˷p'aŋ	⁻p'ɛn	˷bã	,peŋ	˷peŋ	
˷b'ɛt	different	'piɛ	˷pi:t	⁻p'ɛt	⁻biꞎ	⁻pɛꞎ	[⁻pat]	⁻piat
˷buok	servant	'p'u,/p'u	˷puk	⁻p'uk	⁻bɤꞎ	⁻puꞎ	[⁻pok]	
ˌma	horse	/ma	ˌma	ˋma	ˋmɔ	⁻ma	[ˌbɛ]	[ˌma]
ˌma:i	buy	/mai	ˌma:i	ˋmai	ˋma	⁻mæ	[ˌbwe]	
ˌmiɛn	face	\miɛn	˷mi:n	⁻mɛn	ˋmi	'meŋ	[⁻bin]	⁻bian
˷m'ɛŋ	name	'miŋ	ˌmɛŋ	⁻mjaŋ	˷min	ˋmiaŋ	˷mjã	˷beŋ
ˌm'waŋ	look	\waŋ	˷mɔŋ	\mɔŋ	\mã	ˌwoŋ	[˷baŋ]	˷boŋ
ˌmuan	full	/man	ˌmu:n	ˋman	ˋmø	⁻maŋ	ˌmwã	ˌbwan
ˌm'uən	ask	\wən	˷man	\mun	.	ˌoŋ	˷mŋ	˷bun
ˌm'wʌn	10,000	\wan	˷ma:n	ˌwan		ˌwaŋ		˷ban

the Cantonese forms, -ɔ (in place of -u or -y) in the words for 'hinder' and 'thorns'.

Hainanese has 'establish' ʻsaŋ, 'bed' √so, 'affair' _si. The last is the only witness among the modern dialects to an affricate pronunciation in this word; the forms of all other dialects might be explained by ACh. z-.

The book form of 'quarrel' in Fuchow is -tʃeŋ.

The labial occlusives and nasals (p. 334):

In the Pekingese forms for 'tree trunk' and 'bee', the vowel is dissimilated from *u* because of the labial initial; cf., after velar, (537), P. -kuŋ 'respectful'.

Note the change -m > -n in the word 'offend', in most dialects. Hakka and Swatow (√hwam) alone keep -m; the Swatow form strictly belongs to T'ang Min, and shows that the dissimilation of the consecutive labials had not yet taken place in T'ang Min when it was introduced from the north. Hainanese in these initials closely follows Amoy, but has curious forms, not yet explained, in 'decide' ʻfwaŋ, and 'buy' ‚vœɛ.

The final nasal has completely disappeared in the word for 'name' in both Amoy and Hainanese, and the latter dialect has also 'full' as ‚mwa.

Kienyang shows the word 'to fly' as √yɛ, which must be in origin a book form, as this dialect normally retains *p-* from ACh. *pjw-*.

The NCh. forms for 'ten thousand' have displaced the local forms, if such ever existed, in most dialects; in this word we find one of the few cases of direct northern influence in Hakka. The Min dialects mostly have the T'ang Min form only (in Fuchow, the book form only, though *m-* is also recorded); but Hinghwa has _maŋ.

The brackets in the above list enclose atypical forms in Amoy and T'ang Min.

Book forms in Fuchow are: 'hundred' ‚paiˤ, 'let out' ‚huoŋ, 'fly' -hi, 'side' -pieŋ, 'break' -pʼɔ, 'white' ‾peˤ, 'illness' ‚peŋ, 'different' ‾pieˤ, 'face' ‚mieŋ, 'name' ʻmiŋ, 'ask' ˏoŋ, 'ten thousand' ‚uaŋ.

The sibilants:

Three classes are distinguished in the ancient language,—dental, palatalised, and retroflex, the last found in the upper tones, and therefore in the form ṣ- only. Few if any modern dialects keep the

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
相	⁻sⁱaŋ	together	⁻ɕiaŋ	‘ʂœŋ	⁻sioŋ	⁻siã	⁻soŋ	⁻sã	⁻sioŋ
三	⁻sam	three	⁻san	‘ʂa:m	⁻sam	⁻sæ	⁻saŋ	⁻sã	⁻sam
心	⁻sⁱəm	heart	⁻ɕin	‘ʂam	⁻sim	⁻sin	⁻siŋ	⁻sim	⁻sim
先	⁻sien	before	⁻ɕiɛn	‘ʂi:n	⁻sɛn	⁻si	⁻seŋ	⁻seŋ	⁻sian
星	⁻sieŋ	star	⁻ɕiŋ	‘ʂiŋ	⁻sin,⁻saŋ	⁻sin	⁻siŋ	⁻tʃ‘ĕ	⁻seŋ
謝	‚zja	thanks	\ɕiɛ	⎽tʂɛ	‚tsʻia	‚zia	‚sia	⎽tʃia	‚sia
俗	‚zⁱwok	vulgar	’su	⎽tʂuk	⁻siuk	⁻zuᶜ	⁻syᶜ		⁻siok
象	‚zⁱaŋ	likeness	\ɕiaŋ	⎽tʂœŋ	‘sioŋ	‚zjã		⎽tʃ‘iũ	⎽sioŋ
深	⁻ʃⁱəm	deep	⁻ʂən	‘ʂam	⁻tʃ‘im	⁻sən	⁻tʃiŋ	⁻tʃ‘im	
聲	⁻ʃⁱɛŋ	voice	⁻ʂəŋ	‘ʂɛŋ	⁻ʃin,⁻ʃaŋ	⁻sən	⁻siaŋ	⁻sjã	⁻seŋ
燒	⁻ʃⁱɛu	burn	⁻ʂɒu	‘ʂi:u	⁻ʃau	⁻sæ	⁻sieu	⁻sio	
伸	⁻ʃⁱen	stretch out	⁻ʂən	‘ʂan	⁻ʃin,⁻tʃ‘un	⁻sən	⁻siŋ	⁻tʃ‘un	
水	’ʃwi	water	\ʂuei	‘ʂœy	‘ʃui	‘sø	⁻tʃy	‚tʃwi	‚sui
上	‚ʒⁱaŋ	up	\ʂaŋ	⎽ʂœŋ	‘ʃɒŋ	‚zã	‚sioŋ	⎽tʃiũ	⎽sioŋ
十	⎽ʒⁱəp	ten	’ʂɪ	⎽ʂap	⁻ʃip	⁻zəᶜ	⁻sɛᶜ	⁻tʃap	⁻sip
城	⎽ʒⁱɛŋ	city	’tʂʻəŋ	⎽ʂɛŋ	⁻ʃin,⁻ʃaŋ	√zɒn	‘siaŋ	√sjã	√seŋ
樹	‚ʒⁱu	tree	\ʂu	⎽ʂy	‘ʃu	‚zə	‚səy	⎽tʃ‘iu	⎽su
山	⁻ʂan	hill	⁻ʂan	‘ʂa:n	⁻ʃan	⁻sæ	⁻saŋ	⁻swã	⁻san
生	⁻ʂɛŋ	life	⁻ʂəŋ	‘ʂaŋ	⁻sɛn	⁻sã	⁻saŋ, -tʃ‘aŋ	-sĭ	⁻seŋ
所	’ʂⁱwo	what	\so	’ʂɔ	‘sɔ	‘sʋu	⁻sə		⁻sɔ
獅	⁻ʂi	lion	⁻ʂɪ	‘ʂi	⁻su	⁻sə	⁻sai	⁻sai	⁻si

three classes rigorously apart, and the tongue position varies much among speakers of the same dialect. Northern Chinese keeps the distinction better than most dialects, but even there the distinction is clearer between *ʃ*- resulting from the secondary palatalisation before -*j*-, -*i*, and the other sibilants than it is between the Ancient Chinese classes. The three classes, because of the similarity of the phonetic phenomena in the dialects, are here listed and annotated together.

The most noteworthy feature in this series is the unpredictable emergence of affricate forms in various dialects, everywhere except among the retroflex sibilants. Karlgren traces ACh. *z*- back to ArCh. *dz*-, and *ʒ*- to ArCh. *ḍ*-. The affricate forms are certainly more frequent among the lower tones i.e., where ACh. has *z*- or *ʒ*-; but they are common enough in the *s*- and *ʃ*- groups to justify the hypothesis that among these initials we have some which go back to an earlier affricate of some kind. Not only the word for 'star' in the above list, but the whole group of common characters in which its written form is phonetic show *tʃ*- forms in one or other dialect; and this can hardly be coincidence. All these affricate forms are more common in the dialects of the south and east, and probably represent an earlier stage of the language, which has in most cases been, as it were, planed down by the operation of a new standard.

Hainanese shows *t*- in cases where no Min dialect has *tʃ*-, but otherwise it has *s*-: 'three' -*ta*, 'star' -*sæ*, 'stretch out' -*sun*, 'mountain' -*toa*. Sze-Yap has 'three' -*ʃa:m* and 'deep' -*ʃɪm*, making no distinction between the palatalised and unpalatalised types; it has, however, 'thanks' ˌ*tɛə*, as correspondent of the *tʃ*- forms of other dialects.

It is to be doubted whether the pronunciation of the word for 'likeness' in Cantonese is really native. Cantonese usually preserves the rising tone and aspirates the initial; one would therefore expect *ˌts'œŋ*, and, as the word is hardly in popular use, Northern Chinese influence is reasonably suspected.

Tingchow has *tiaŋ* for 'mountain', possibly a now isolated example of a former distinction of retroflex sounds.

The learned forms of the Fuchow words in the list are: 'together' -*sioŋ*, 'before' -*sieŋ*, 'voice' -*siŋ*, 'water' -*tʃui*, 'city' ʻ*siŋ*, 'hill' -*saŋ*, 'life' -*seŋ*, 'what' -*su*, 'lion' -*sy*.

The initial l-:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
兩	ˏlʰaŋ	two	ˌliaŋ	ˏlœŋ	ʻlioŋ	ʻljã	ˏlaŋ	ˍŋŋ	ˏlioŋ
來	ˍlai	come	ʻlai	ˏlai	ˍlɔi	√lɛ	ʻli		√lai
樂	ˍlak	joy	\lo	ˍlɔk	‑lok		‑loʕ	‑lak	‑lok
狼	ˍlaŋ	wolf	ʻlaŋ	ˏlɔŋ	ˍloŋ	√lã	ʻloŋ	√lɔŋ	√lɔŋ
力	ˍlʰək	strength	\li	ˍlik	‑lit	‑liʕ	‑liʕ	‑lat	‑lɛk
利	ˏlji	profit	\li	ˍle:i	ˏli	ʻli	ˏle	ˍlai	ˍli
流	ˍlʰu	flow	ʻliu	ˏlau	ˍliu	√ley	ʻlau	√lau	√liu
六	ˍlʰuk	six	\liu	ˍluk	‑luk	ˍluʕ	‑ləʕ	‑lak	

The initials *l-* and *n-* are not distinguished throughout much of the Yangtsze area, in most of southern Szech'wan, and sporadically in the mixed Cantonese-Hakka area. In the first word above we may have a trace of the same confusion; Hainanese here has ʻnɔ, but in other words regularly *l-*. Tingchow has a certain number of cases among the commonest words in which ACh. *l-* is reproduced by *t-*; 'six' *teu*, 'two' *tioŋ*, 'mile' (ACh. *lji*) *ti*.

Book pronunciations in Fuchow are: 'two' *-lioŋ* (for the irregularity of tone cf. Amoy), 'come' ʻ*lai*, 'flow' ʻ*liu*.

The Glottal Stop and Vocalic Initials:

	ACh.	English	Peking	Canton	Hakka	Suchow	Fuchow	Amoy	T'ang Min
惡	-ˀak	wicked	\o	-ɔk	-ɔk	-ɔˀ	ˀauˀ	-ɔˀ	-ɔk
安	-ˀan	peace	-an	ˋɔn	-ɔn	-ø	-aŋ		-an
烟	-ˀien	smoke	-jɛn	ˋji:n	-jɛn	-i	-hoŋ		-ian
烏	-ˀuo	black	-wu	ˋwu	-u	-au	-u	-ɔ	
影	ʼˀjʋŋ	shadow	/jiŋ	ʼjiŋ	ˋjaŋ	ˋjɛn	-oŋ	ʼŋ	
音	-ˀjəm	sound	-jin	ˋjam	-jim	-jɛn	-iŋ		-im
應	-ˀiəŋ	ought	-jiŋ	ˋjiŋ	-jin	-jɛn	-iŋ	-in	-eŋ
一	-ˀiet	one	-i	-jat	-jit	-jɛˀ			-it
衣	-ˀəi	clothing	-i	ˋji	-i	-i	-i	-i	
野	ʼ a	wild	/jɛ	ˏjɛ	ˋja	ˋja	-ia	ʼja	
羊	-ˏaŋ	sheep	ʼjaŋ	ˏjœŋ	-joŋ	√jã	ˋioŋ	√jũ	√joŋ
園	_jwʋn	garden	ʼjyan	ˏjy:n	-jɛn	√jiu	ˋhuoŋ	√hŋ	√wan
翼	_iək	wing	\ji	_jik	-jit		-sɪˀ	-sit	-ek
亦	_jɛk	also	\ji	_jik	-jit	-haˀ	-iˀ	-jaˀ	-ek
葉	_jɛp	leaf	\jɛ	_ji:p	-jap	-jɛˀ	-nioˀ	-hjoˀ	
雲	_juen	cloud	ʼjyn	ˏwan	-jun		ˋhuŋ	√hun	
為	_jwie	act	\wei	_wai	ˏwei	_wɛ	ˏoi	_ui	
用	_jwoŋ	use	\juŋ	_juŋ	ˏjuŋ	ˋyuŋ	ˏɛŋ	_ɛŋ	-joŋ
雨	_ju	rain	/jy	ˏjy	ˋji	ˋjy	-y	_ho	ˏu
有	_jəu	have	/ju	ˏjau	ˋjiu	ˋjø	ˏo	_u	ʼju

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These two series are given here for the sake of completeness, and, as the glottal stop has nowhere any influence on the evolution of the sounds, the two lists are given together. The glottal stop belongs to the upper tones only, and only the lower tones have in Ancient Chinese purely vocalic initials.

It will be observed that, in the lower toned words, various consonantal initials have emerged; chiefly *h-*, but also others; and that in some cases they are common to more than one dialect. These may be in some instances remnants of old consonantal initials. But such a supposition is not easy to reconcile either with Karlgren's theory of vanishing ArCh. stops (since *xh-* would result from ArCh. **d-* in 'leaf' above no less than from **g-* in 'garden'), or with the view here adopted that the lost initial consonant was **λ-*. Further difficulties arise when we note in the list above two closely related dialects usually in agreement, but sometimes differing as between *h-* and *n-*. Moreover, there is at least one case here ('smoke') where the *h-* has encroached on the upper tones. Karlgren (*Phonologie chinoise*, Ch. VII) notes that many dialects avoid hiatus by prefixing to a vowel whatever consonant in that dialect represents ACh. *ŋ-*. In the cases quoted by him, the ACh. *ŋ-* tends to be lost in those dialects; and the prosthetic *ŋ-* may be cases of false regression. Although neither *h-* nor *ŋ-* is lost in Min, and the latter is not there represented by *h-*, something similar may be at work in these dialects.

Fuchow book forms of words occurring in the above list are: 'shadow' *⁻iŋ*, 'smoke' *⁻ieŋ*, 'leaf' *⁻ieˤ*, 'have' *-iu*, 'wing' *⁻iˤ*.

SPECIMENS IN PHONETIC SCRIPT OF LANGUAGES DESCRIBED AND OF MODERN CHINESE DIALECTS

1. HUA-MIAO: A transcription by Daniel Jones in the *Maître phonétique*, 1923.

ˋpi ˌŋgliæ ˋti ˌku ˋa ˋqɔ ˌlɔ ˋhi ˌjɔ ˌku ˋa ˋklau ˋku. ˌŋgliæ ˋti
[cl.] earth   is   round,   not is   four square. Earth

ˋhi ⁻ma ˋa ˋndu... ˌtsha -hnu ˌtsha ⁻tʃiai -mau
not have boundary...   Every day every season   go

⁻tʃi ˋi_ʃiau ˌhiˌndʒiˋi -kau... ˌŋgliæ ˋti ⁻qa ⁻lu ⁻hnu
journey, one year turn one time...   Earth   from   sun

ˌkli ˌku ˋa -vau -vau ˋtʃiau ⁻ndʒia ˋtʃi.
far   is 10,000 10,000 more road-journey.

'Cl.' = classifier.

2. A few sentences in MP'O (Kehdeo):

⁻ku ˌnuŋ 'nu ˋti 'ki ˌmp'ou _tuŋ ˋta _ma ˋta 'ni ˋti
I   ask him say, You   's   son die not die? He say,

_ta⁻ɹu _ma ˌjaŋ ˋta ⁻nt'aŋˌkɔ _maŋ.   _pu _i _k'uŋ _ou
Child   not is die, has illness.   Give one cup water,

_ku ⁻ja ⁻k'au ⁻ɹuŋ 'ni. 'ni ˌmp'ou _tuŋ -hu _ou _taˌkuŋ
I will make good he. He   's   son drink water after,

⁻taŋ _haŋ \jaŋ _lɔ ˌɹɔ.
now   is big-strong.

(For the pronunciation in this case, I am obliged to the Rev. Mr. M. H. Hutton, of Sydney, N.S.W.)

3. ANNAMESE: Part of a transcription given by Taquang Bun in the *Maître phonétique*, 1936:

⁻jɔ: bɐk ˌva: _mak tɐi tan ɲau -man -ieu ˌvɪɑ -kɔ: _mokɯ
Wind north and sun dispute who   strong,   just have   one

ˌɲɪəiˌhan xat di: kwa: ˌmin ˍmak ˍmokw -ka:i ˉau təi
traveller   pass   by , body wear one classifier cloak very

ɪɛt ˉʌm.
warm.

('The north wind and the sun were disputing who was the stronger, when a traveller passed by wearing a very warm cloak').

4. BURMESE SHAN: Transcribed by Daniel Jones in the *Maître phonétique*, 1942. (The tone marks used have been replaced by those used throughout this book).

ˉlom ˉta:ŋ ˍhɔŋ ˌlɛ ˌka:ŋ ˉwan \nai, ˌtheŋ ˌkan ˌloŋ ˍju ˌlɛ ˌan ˌlaɯ ˌteˉhɛŋ ˌshe ˌan ˌlaɯ ˌkɔ, ˌmə ˉkon ˌpai ˌta:ŋ \kɔ ˌnuŋ, `nuŋ `shə ˍun ˌloŋ ˌan ˌnuŋ ˌsheˌlɛ, ˉma ˌloŋ ˍju.

This is a version of the same sentence as is used in the preceding extract.

5. To give some idea of what ANCIENT CHINESE must have been like in a connected passage, we give here a short extract from the opening chapter of *Mencius* as it would, we believe, have been read by a scholar of the sixth century of our era who used the standard dialect recorded in the *Ts'ie-yün* dictionary:

王曰叟不遠千里而來亦將

ˍjꞌwɒŋ ˍjꞌwɒt 'sau ˉpwət ˌjꞌwɒn ˉtsꞌien ˌlji ˍȵʑi ˍlai ˍiɛk ˉtsꞌaŋ
King say, Sir, not far thousand li and come, also take

有以利吾國乎孟子對曰王

ˌjieu ˌi ˌlji ˍŋwo ˉkwək -yu ˌmaŋ'tsi `twai -jꞌwɒt -jꞌwɒŋ
have use profit my land?   Mencius against say, King

何必曰利亦有仁

ˍɣa ˉpiet ˍjꞌwat ˌlji ˍiɛk ˌjieu ˉȵʑꞌen ˌȵjie
how must say profit? Also have benevolence righteousness

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義　而已　耶

-ɲʒi 　,i 　　　,ji
and finish [final adverb].

'The King said, Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand le, may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsels to profit my kingdom? Mencius replied: Why must your majesty use that word "profit"? What I am likewise provided with are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics.'

(Legge's translation).

6. PEKINGESE: A transcription of the same passage as that used in specimen 3, and rather narrower than is used in the body of this book. It is slightly altered by Daniel Jones from the form in which it was supplied by Y. R. Chao (*Maître phonétique*, 1928).

iou i xuɛi ˍβɛi-faŋ ǧən ˈthai . iaŋ ˈdʒaŋ ḍai naʌ -dʒaŋˋlun ʃɛi ḍə ˍβən ʃʌ ˈḍa, -ʃuo dʒʌ ʃuo ḍʒʌ ˈlai lə iǧə -dʒou ˈḍauʌ ḍə ˉʃən ʃaŋ -tʃhuan ḍʒʌ i ʃiɛn ˈxou ˈphau ḍʒɯ.

The dots used in the original to mark tones in unstressed syllables have been omitted. The symbol ʃ is used conventionally for the retroflex ʂ.

7. CANTONESE.

ˉpak ˋfuŋ ˏtˈuŋ ˍjiːt ⌄ʃtˈau ˏjau ˉjat ˍjat ˈhai -tʂy ˈtʂaŋ
North wind with heat- head have one day at place strive-
　　　　　　　(i.e., sun)

ˉlun ˏkˈœy ˏlœŋ ˉkɔ ˈtʂi ˈtʂuŋ ˉpiːn ˉjat -kɔ -kaŋ ˏkˈœŋ.
argue he two cl. 's middle which one cl. more strong,

ˉŋaːm ˋŋaːm ˏjau -kɔ ˏjan ˈtʂˈyːn -tʂœk ˍkiːn ˏnyːn
just- just have cl. man wear- don cl. warm

⌄ʃpˈou -kɛ ⌄ʃhaŋ ˍsœŋ ˏlai.
cloak 's walk up come.

Notes: 'Cl.': classifier. The last two instances of its occurrence illustrate its use as a kind of indefinite article.

The words translated 'at', 'just', and by the possessive suffix are written with local characters, they having no counterparts in the

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standard dialect. So too the word translated as 'which', though written with a classical character (meaning 'side') is purely Cantonese in the sense in which it is written here.

The last word ‚lai, is also generally written with various characters of local manufacture to give its colloquial value: the classical writing is retained in Cantonese with the pronunciation ‚lɔi, a book pronunciation used colloquially only in a few set phrases.

The words for 'head', 'just' (first occurrence), and 'walk' are in altered tones; normally they would be ‚t'au, ʻŋa:m, ‚ha:ŋ.

8. HAKKA. The Hakka dialects extend over a large area, but not continuously, and the differences in pronunciation between one region and another are considerable. The following sentence represents the pronunciation of Mui Yün, Kwangtung province.

-jit	⁻ɲit	⁻pæk	-fuŋ	‚t'oŋ	⁻ɲit	‚t'æu	-tsaŋ	ʻluŋ	_ma:n
One	day	north	wind	with	sun-head	strive-discuss	which

‚ɲin	-kɛ	⁻pun‘si	ʻt'ai	-kɛ	‚si'hau	‚lɔi	-jit	-kɛ
person	's	ability	great	's	time	come	one	[classifier]

‚haŋ	ʻlou	-kɛ	‚ɲin	-ɕin	-hɔŋ	-tsok	-tɛt	-jit
walk	road	's	person	body	wear	get	one

ʻtʃ'an ʻhau ʻlau.
[classifier] good cloak.

The word translated 'which' is peculiar to Hakka; in other Hakka dialects the common word is -mat. Mui Yün does not agree with most Hakka dialects in using -tʃak (P. -tʂɿ) as the classifier of nouns for human beings; the classifier -kɛ in the present specimens appears to be identical with the ʻkai of other Hakka dialects, and to be the equivalent of P. \kə, and the classifier of persons in all dialects other than Hakka.

9. SUCHOW (Wu): The same passage is used to illustrate this dialect.

‚y	⁻jvˤ	_næˤ	⁻pɔ	-fuŋ	⁻taˤ	-t'a‚jaŋ	⁻siã	ʻmv	ʻʂa
Have	one	day	north	wind	with	sun	together	quarrel	which

‚ɲnɛn	-kə	⁻lɪˤ	‚tʃ'i	‚dvu	_ʃi	‚tʃ'æ	‚y	⁻jvˤ	-kə
man	's	strength-breath	great,	together-exact	have	one	classifier
								(just then)

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ˊtsɛy ˌlʋuu ∫ɲɛn -tʃɛn ˌkʋuu ⁻tsʋˤ ˌdz ⁻jʋˤ ˌd͡ʑi ˌnuu
walk-road-man　　pass　　by wear-remain one classifier warm-

_ɲɛˤ -kə ˌta -i
hot　　's big-garment.

Notes: The word ˊsa, 'what?' cannot be equated with any word represented by a character in the standard written language, though local characters exist for this and other peculiarly Wu words.

The possessive particle, -kə is probably the same as the demonstrative adjective written by the same character, and may be further identical with its equivalent, -kɛ, in Cantonese.

The last two characters in the specimen together represent an expression borrowed as a whole from Northern Chinese; the pure dialectal sound of the word for 'big' is shown where it occurs earlier in the specimen.

10. NINGPO (Wu):

ˌju ⁻iˤ _ɲɛˤ ⁻pɤˤ -fuuŋ ⁻təˤ -tˤa _jã ˊtsæ̃ ˊkoŋ ⁻sɤ ˊɲiŋ
Have one day north　　wind with sun　quarrel- say which man

_le -tʃˤi _tˤʋuu. ˊtɤ̃ ˋdz ˌju ⁻iˤ -kuu -kɤuu ⁻lu
strength- breath　big, fitting time have one classifier pass- road-

ˊɲiŋ ⁻tʃæˤ -la -iˤ _tɕi -ta ˋi ˌle _lu ˊzʋŋ -tsɤ:
man　 wear-　did one classifier big-garment at road-upon walk.

Notes: This specimen illustrates the absence of lip-rounding which characterises the Wu dialects; and also the devoicing of the voiced initials when they occur at the beginning of a breath-group.

In this specimen also the words 'big garment' are a Northern Chinese loan and there are doublet pronunciations of the word 'big'.

11. A dialect of southern Anhwei, transcribed by Lo Chʻang pʻei, kindly transmitted to the author by Y. R. Chao:

游 火 蟲　　夜 夜 紅
公 ㇑ 挑 菜 賣 胡 蔥
婆 ㇑ 績 麻 糊 燈 籠
哥 ㇑ 開 店 做 郎 中
嫂 ㇑ 抽 牌 捉 牙 虫
小 叔 讀 書 提 鳥 籠

‾iu ↙xə ‾ʦˤẽ ˌia ˌia ‾xuẽ
ˌkuẽ ˌkuẽ ˌtˈiɛ 'tsˈæ ˌma ‾xu ˌʦˤẽ
‾pˈɵ ‾pˈɵ ˌʨiˤ ‾mo ‾xu ˌʨɛ ‾lẽ
ˌkɵ ˌkɵ ˌkˈæ 'tẽĩ ˌtsɵ ‾lõ ˌʦẽ
ˌsei ↙sei ˌtsˈei ‾pˈæ 'tsɤˤ ‾io ‾ʦˤẽ
ˌɕiɛ ˌsˤ \tɤˤ ˌsu ‾tsˈɿ ˌɲiɛ ‾lẽˌ

In the above copy the tones are indicated by the system used throughout this book; otherwise the transcription is unaltered.

12. FUCHOW: A transcription by Tao Yumin, in the *Maître phonétique*, 1933.

ˌpɵy ‾huŋ kɵ ˌni ˋthau ˌʨia 'lɛ ‾ʨaŋ ‾tiɛ ˋnɵyŋ ˌku
North wind and sun-head exactly at quarrelling which person more

‾puõ ˌnɵy ˋu ˌlɔ ˌiɛˤ ˌkiã ˌnyɔ i ˋnɵyŋ ˌsɵyn na ˋŋui
able , has one classifier walk way 's man putting-on outside

ˌthɔ ˌkiaŋ ˌŋuɔ
covering walk past.

This extract brings out an interesting point in the phonology of the Fuchow dialect, its assimilation of initials and finals, seen in the words translated 'able', 'putting', and 'past'. The last word pronounced alone has the initial *k*-.

13. AMOY: A transcription by Ben-ming Chiu (*Maître phonétique*, 1930). The passage used for illustration is again the same as the above.

ˌu ˌtsit ˋpai ‾pak ‾hɔŋ ‾kap ˋthai /iɔŋ ˋte ˋtau ‾pun ‾su ‾e
/si, ‾tu ‾a ˌtsit ‾e ‾kiã ˌlɔ ‾e /laŋ, ˌtshiŋ ˌtsit ‾niã ˌkau ‾tut
ˌtut ‾e ‾mĩ /hiu, ˋtui ‾hia ˌke.

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